IOHANNIS WYCLIFFE

DIALOGUS

SIVE

SPECULUM ECCLESIE MILITANTIS

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SPECULUM ECCLESIE MILITANTIS

NOW FIRST EDITED FROM THE ASHBURNHAM MS. XXVII C.

WITH COLLATIONS FROM THE VIENNA MSS.

1387, 3930 *AND* 4505

BY

ALFRED W. POLLARD, M.A.

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD

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INTRODUCTION.

I.

Of Wyclif's *Dialogus*, or *Speculum Ecclesie Militantis*, no less than ten manuscripts have come down to us, a greater number than of any other of his works. Of these ten manuscripts nine are in public libraries at Vienna and Prague, and for the most part bear plain traces that they were transcribed by Bohemian copyists. The only English manuscript extant is that in the collection of Lord Ashburnham, and from this, by the owner's kindness, the text of the present edition has been taken. Though Wyclif's immense influence in Bohemia is now well known, that the foreign transcripts in existence should outnumber the English by nine to one is at first sight startling. It is probably to be explained by the popular character of the *Dialogus*, especially in its early chapters, as compared with other of Wyclif's Latin works. In England this would not greatly increase its circulation, as nearly the whole of the work can be paralleled from the English writings. But in any foreign country it would naturally widen the circle of readers, and the use which Dr. Loserth has made of the *Dialogus*, in proving the debt of Hus to Wyclif, helps to show that the large number of the Bohemian transcripts in existence is not merely the result of accident[1].

As the name by which it is generally known informs

[1] The *Dialogus* and *Trialogus* are mentioned together as the two books on which in 1408 bachelors were forbidden to hold public lectures in Bohemia, and in the list of writings of Wyclif condemned in 1410 the *Dialogus* comes first. (Loserth's 'Wyclif and Hus,' Eng. Ed., pages 105 and 115).

us, the *Speculum Ecclesie Militantis* is written in the form of a dialogue. Later on, in the *Trialogus*, Wyclif was to show that he had attained at least a moderate mastery over the difficulties of this kind of composition, but the *Dialogus* was his first essay in it, and from a literary point of view is open to some criticism. The persons of the dialogue are Veritas and Mendacium, and at the outset we are told (on the authority of John xiv. 6, and viii. 44) that the first of these stands for Christ, and the second for the Devil. In the first three chapters some attempt is made to adhere to this characterization, and we have such sentences as '*Cum ego sim deus conditor cujuslibet creature*,' '*ordinavi illis regulas vivendi*,' '*feci illam scribi in duplici testamento*,' though side by side with them are others in which Christ is spoken of in the third person. After Chapter 3 Veritas is Wyclif, and Wyclif only, and we have him frequently professing the purity of his motives and his readiness to confront the Pope, or to endure persecution for the truth. As to Mendacium, there is no attempt at characterization whatever. He is only a rather simple upholder of existing abuses, and is content to use such very Wyclifite language as *ut patet de heresi in eucharistia et aliis similibus que in fine temporum diabolus spissius seminavit.* A further literary defect may be noted in the length at which Veritas sometimes soliloquizes. His opening statement occupies fourteen pages, and though Mendacium is allowed in all twenty short paragraphs, the last three speeches by Veritas fill respectively nine, four, and eleven pages[1].

The *Dialogus* does not lend itself very easily to division into sections, but we may group its thirty-six chapters under five fairly distinct heads. Thus 1–10 contain the

[1] It may almost be said that from Chapter 30 onwards the text has the appearance of having been originally written without any reference to dialogue form, and this is still more strongly the case if we look only to Chapters 32–36.

case against endowments as stated from Scripture, and in 11–23 we have the defence of Veritas to successive appeals by Mendacium to Church authority. Worsted on the theory of the question, Mendacium then falls back on the practical difficulties in the way of disendowment, and the consideration of these occupies Chapters 24–33. Finally in 34–36 Veritas briefly shows the part which each order of the Church has to play, traces the history of endowment, and points out the advantages to be gained by its abolition. In the Epilogus, which is scholastic in form, new arguments are added, with a recapitulation of some of the most important points previously made.

As an introduction to his arguments, Veritas briefly describes the division of the Church Militant into the three orders of Clerus, Domini Temporales, and Vulgares, and explains their several functions and relations. In three successive chapters the proof from the Old Testament is then unfolded, which here, as in the very early English tract *The Clergy may not hold Property*, and the very late *Supplementum Trialogi*, is mainly based on the three texts, Numbers xviii. 20, Deuteronomy xviii. 1, and Ezekiel xliii. 28. In the following two chapters it is shown that this teaching is confirmed by that of Christ, and also of Solomon, Peter and Paul.

In Chapter 8 Mendacium makes his first reply. It is true, he says, that Christ preached poverty, but He did not intend it to be a permanent law. The glory of the priesthood requires the support of endowments; these are held in the name of Christ as 'patrimonium crucifixi,' and are sanctioned by the concessions of temporal lords and the approbation of the Pope. Is Christ's law to pass away, Antichrist's to endure? Veritas answers. The so-called 'glory' of the priesthood is their shame; to say that they hold their estates in the name of Christ is a blasphemous attempt to shift their sin upon Him. Christ is the 'dominus capitalis,' without whose consent

no concessions of His tenants, the temporal lords, can hold good; and the example of popes goes for nothing unless founded on reason and Scripture. The only course for the clergy is contrition and restitution.

Already Mendacium has shown a disposition to avoid the test of Scripture, and he now begins a series of what I have roughly called appeals to Church authority. His main position is that endowments are supported by the lives of the saints, but when Veritas sets up against this the doctrine that the Scripture alone is binding, papal bulls, indulgences and letters of bishops and of fraternity are innocently presented for demolition, on the ground that they rest on an authority distinct from Scripture. In Chapter 14 the example of the saints is recurred to, and Mendacium demands reverence for their authority because prayers are addressed to them. In answer to this Veritas, who has previously distinguished carefully between Faith and Opinion, now points out that it is only the Apostles whose sanctity is a matter of faith, and that though prayers to saints are good in so far as they serve to quicken devotion to Christ, they often do harm, and would be better addressed directly to God. This Mendacium considers as a failure of reverence to men whose sanctity has been approved by canonization and miracles, and Veritas is thus given an excuse for attacking more abuses, while the further objections of Mendacium that disendowment would lessen the numbers of the clergy, and that prelates who rank as great nobles are peculiarly serviceable to the Church, lead up to denunciations of simony and of the worldly character of the priesthood.

We have now reached Chapter 19, and this and the four chapters which follow it are directed against the friars and monks, and the doctrine of the superior efficacy of the prayers by the sale of which the vast revenues of the monasteries were mainly obtained. Mendacium introduces the subject by the objection that, if endow-

ments are bad, confessors, and therefore especially the friars, must be traitors and heretics for concealing the fact from their penitents, a conclusion so outrageous as to make the supposition inadmissible. In his reply Veritas deals first with the friars, and it is worthy of note that here his language is most carefully measured. The friars, he says, must make their own defence, only they cannot be excused for choosing the unendowed life for themselves, as the more perfect, and yet approving of endowments in the case of others. Their duplicity, however, cannot shake the authority of Scripture, from which all that is good in their order is derived. Were the order only stripped of its unscriptural accretions, what remained would be the pure and meritorious sect of Christ. This mention of the sect of Christ is construed by Mendacium as an attack on all other sects, and, taking up the challenge, in Chapter 20 Veritas proceeds to prove its superiority to them all. On this follows an argument against the splendour, and even the existence, of monastic buildings, and when Mendacium objects that, if monks be done away with, their prayers will be lost to the Church, the bitterness of the attack increases, and the fraudulent and simoniacal nature of the bargainings about prayers is fully exposed. An accusation of fatalism is answered by an exposition of the true doctrine of the efficacy of prayer, and it is predicted that the illgotten wealth of the clergy will bring down on them the curse pronounced against those who offer to God of what they have defrauded the poor.

Mendacium now takes a slightly different line. Hitherto he has adduced the existing practice and constitution of the Church as an authority by which endowments are defended, he now objects that the withdrawal of the endowments would involve the overthrow of the constitution. This Veritas is prepared to view with equanimity, and in Chapters 24–26 he argues that, if it is as Mendacium says, it would be good for the Church to have

neither pope (whose function of granting indulgences might very well be dispensed with) nor cardinals, while the bishops should be prohibited from exercising their special powers for gain. The clergy may betake themselves to teaching or transcribing for their living, though there would be no harm in their agreeing to take a small yearly salary, and sick or disabled parish priests would have a right to alms. Lastly, despite the good they may accidentally do, the disappearance of Universities would be no loss to the Church, and all monks should freely cast off their bonds and enter the sect of Christ. Such is the scheme of Church reform proposed by Veritas, and he claims for it the sanction and approbation of Christ.

Mendacium threatens excommunication, only to be answered that excommunication by Antichrist will win blessing from Christ, and he falls back on the argument that, if alms may be given for a certain length of time, there can be no reason why they should not be given in perpetuity. Veritas points out that this would prove that because fishes can live out of water a certain length of time therefore they can live so for ever, and adds the further objection that the endowment of cloisters in perpetuity has no right to the name of alms. He continues to press this point in answer to a proposal by Mendacium that the temporal lords should year by year keep up the grants of rents made by their ancestors, and thus the clergy, without holding ownership, have the fruits for distribution among the poor. The clergy would lose their much-prized title to endowment, and the lords be reduced to the position of rent-gatherers, and yet, after all, the alms would be no true alms. No analogy from the supposed fact that it was the apostles who distributed the fragments left from the miracle of the loaves can justify perpetual endowments, and the example of the apostles after Christ's death tells, not for, but against the distribution of alms by the clergy. Lords should find their

own almoners and not burden the clergy with a trust in which they have already been found so unfaithful as to justify the confiscation of their property. Let the king obey Christ and confiscate their goods, and the clergy show cause against it if they can!

We have now to deal with Chapters 31–33, and before continuing our summary it must be premised that the manuscripts about this point have become very confusing. In the Ashburnham Manuscript, Chapter 28 is followed by Chapter 33, with a note that some chapters are wanting. At the end of the manuscript these are supplied, with the exception of the greater part of Chapter 30, the leaf containing which appears to have been lost. In the other manuscripts Chapter 31 is omitted altogether, and that which in the text is numbered 32 forms the first part of the Epilogus. More will be said on this subject later on; for the present it is enough to note that the arrangement in the text is by no means free from doubt.

To the bold demand of Veritas for the confiscation of clerical property, Mendacium replies that the secular arm is not strong enough to enforce such a measure, and the pope is sworn to oppose it. Nay more, the pope has the power of conferring kingdoms, and it is rather the clergy who should disendow the secular lords than the secular lords who should disendow the clergy. Against such a view of the relation of the two orders Veritas vigorously protests, and he has no difficulty in pointing out the absurdity of the conclusions which might be drawn from it. He has hopes that the clergy, if forced to face the question, would themselves declare against endowment, and in any case the king of England should refuse to make any fresh grants to them and should follow such precedents as the denial of tribute to the pope.

Mendacium now advances his last objections. In the first place, he says, glebe and church are insepar-

able; secondly, if the clergy surrender any part of their income they must surrender the whole, glebe, tithes and offerings as well as endowments. But really there is no need for anything of the kind, as it is not the individual ecclesiastic who holds lordship, but the church as a whole. Veritas easily shows that the connection of glebe and church is purely arbitrary, and applies himself to the question of restitution. This, he says, is owed to God and not to the secular lord, who has no claim either by God's law or man's. But it is not the fact of holding property so much as the manner of it which is to be attacked. A good curate may keep his glebe, or receive moderate offerings and tithes, so he be faithful in work and free from avarice. As to the theory that lordship rests with the church, it is an imperfection even in the second order, and is so plainly forbidden to the clergy that their acceptance of it ranks them under the banners of Antichrist. Preceded by a scholastic explanation of the nature of buying and selling, an attack is now made upon the simony of the clergy, and the destructive part of the treatise comes to an end. Of the three chapters which follow, the first is devoted to an exposition of the manner in which each of the three orders can and ought to come to the rescue of the church. All must help with their prayers, and the clergy must stir the temporal lords to restrain the enemies of the church and withdraw from them the misnamed alms. A sketch of the gradual rise of the system of endowment and of the doctrine of the necessary preponderance of popes and bishops then follows, and their insidious advance is ascribed to the devil. Lastly, we have a bitterly ironical chapter in which the lords are bidden to inform the clergy that they will not be damned for their sake, and the clergy are reminded that if the lords have borne the burden of the present system for a thousand years, it can be no hardship to themselves to revert for some seven years to Christ's law, so that both

may be tried. By this all three orders would be benefited; the clergy by being brought under Christ's rule, the lords by being relieved from the need of oppressing their tenants so as to give to monks, the labourers by having better masters. And so, with a fervent wish that all three orders of the church may rally to the truth, the Dialogus is brought to an end. Of the Epilogue by which it is followed, it is needless to give any full account. As has been already said, it is scholastic in form, and we have first three chief arguments in favour of endowment with their appropriate refutations, then two others, and then a final four. The reasoning is very close, and does not admit of a shorter treatment than that given in the marginal analysis.

II.

For reasons that will be apparent as we proceed, the question of the date of the *Dialogus* is of peculiar interest. In endeavouring to fix this date two kinds of evidence must be considered; (1) references to current events, (2) the place which the treatise holds in the development of Wyclif's teaching. The first is capable of yielding the most precise and the most certain results, so long as we are careful not to see references where they do not really exist; the second is of great importance, but (especially while so many of Wyclif's works remain inaccessible) is very difficult of interpretation.

[1] In trying to fix our date by means of references to

[1] For convenience of reference I give here the following list of dates:—

1377. Wyclif before Courtenay, Feb. 19.—Gregory XI's five bulls containing a conditional citation of Wyclif, dated May 31; alluded to in Parliament, October; published, December 18.—Death of Edward III, June 21.

1378. Wyclif before Sudbury, Feb. or March.—Death of Gregory XI, March 27.—Protests of Cardinals against Urban's election, July—the subject before the English Parliament, October.—Clement VII elected Anti-Pope, Sept. 20.—Urban's Bull against Clement, Nov. 29.—To this year is usually assigned the beginning of the activity of Wyclif's 'Poor Priests.'

1381. Peasants' Revolt, June.—To the Summer Term of this year is assigned the publication of Wyclif's twelve Theses against Transubstantiation.

current events, we have first an important piece of negative evidence. Few events stirred Wyclif more deeply than Bishop Spencer's crusade in Flanders, and his allusions to it in his latest writings are so frequent that it is impossible to believe that, in a work of the length of the *Dialogus*, it would have been unnoticed had it occurred. This is the more certain because the bearing of arms by the clergy is actually mentioned in Chapter 4 (p. 8, l. 6), where a reference to the crusade would have been very apposite. In the absence of such reference we may safely conclude that our treatise was composed not later than 1382. Was it composed in 1382? This date is supported by the great authority of Dr. Lechler[1], and it has in its favour a passage at the end of Chapter 5, where, after speaking of the increase of simony, Veritas proceeds: *Per hoc autem inhabiles aspirant ad superiores gradus sacerdocii et impediunt verbum dei predicari in populo, et anhelantes ad illud tanquam hereticos persecuntur: et ista persecucio est heresis sue manifestum indicium; nec sufficiunt pauperes et pauci fideles sacerdotes resistere, nisi deus per seculare brachium vel aliunde cicius manus apposuerit adjutrices* (p. 10, l. 23 sqq.). At first sight this appears to be a clear reference to the appointment of Wyclif's old enemy, Courtenay, to be Archbishop of Canterbury, and to those measures against the 'Poor Priests' which were almost his first official acts. Anyone who holds that the date 1382 is plausible on other grounds has a right to regard this passage as a strong confirmation of his view: it must, however, be remarked (1) that there is no ground for asserting that

1382. Archbishop Courtenay receives the Pallium, May 6.—Earthquake Council, May 21.—Edict against Poor Priests, May 26.—Attack on Wyclifites at Oxford, May-November.—Bull for the crusade against Clement communicated to Parliament, November.—The translation of the Bible was probably completed this year.

1383. Bishop Spencer's Crusade in Flanders, May-October.

[1] 'Wyclif and his English Precursors,' vol. ii. p. 335, where he withdraws the date 1380 which he had previously supported in the Preface to his edition of the Trialogus.

the new Archbishop was *inhabilis*, though, according to Wyclif's teaching, the pressure which his noble kinsmen may have brought to bear may have made the appointment simoniacal; (2) that in the Latin tract *De Dæmonio Meridiano*, which, from its style and appearance of having been written soon after the death of the Black Prince (June 8, 1376) cannot, I think, be placed later than early in 1377, there is an equally distinct reference to the opposition to faithful preachers. If this be so, Wyclif's 'Poor Priests' must have both begun their work, and met with resistance much earlier than is supposed, and the reference in our text may be to some previous persecution of them[1].

Our next date-passage is a probable reference to the death of Gregory XI in March, 1378. In Chapter 24 Mendacium had thrown out the taunt, *Qualitercunque hic loquaris in angulis non auderes ista defendere vel dicere coram papa*, and Veritas had answered him, *Confisus in fide audeo hec dicere coram deo. Et si mortem temporalem adhuc timeo, sicut petrus, reputo quod debeo istam sentenciam defendere coram papa.* In Chapter 29 Mendacium launches a more distinct threat in the words *ista defendens citaberis, excommunicaberis, et ab omni fructu in ecclesia utili suspenderis*, to which Veritas makes answer, *Si antichristus citat hominem ad locum quem non intelligit, nec scit si pro tempore citationis erit in tartaris cum diabolo stabilitus, et Christus citat per*

[1] As this view is somewhat different to that held by the editor of the treatise, Dr. Buddensieg, it is only right to quote his Preface. 'To judge from the whole tone of the Tract, it must have been written shortly after the death of the Black Prince, who died June 8, 1377 (sic). The style also suits this date very well . . . I would defend this date more keenly, unless in the last chapter the opposition between the rich clergy, who try to hinder the free preaching of the Gospel by the itinerant preachers, were so strongly marked; for according to all particulars hitherto known of the institute of Wyclif's itinerary preachers, an earlier date than the year 1382 would not suit this antagonism. The date, therefore, must remain uncertain.' The passage referred to runs: *sacerdos fidelis volens gratis predicare evangelium Jesu Cristi erit statim prohibitus predicare.* It is to be noted that Dr. Buddensieg here postdates the death of the Black Prince by a year, though it is given correctly in the note on p. 418.

legem suam, per instinctum et casus quos immittit ad partem contrariam, quis dubitat quin citacioni domini est parendum? In excusing himself in 1384 from obedience to a citation of Urban VI, Wyclif was to use language very similar to this, but here it is difficult not to see a reference to his conditional citation in the bulls of May, 1377, which the death of Gregory XI in the following March rendered inoperative.

One more reference to current events remains for consideration, and that the most important. It occurs in Chapter 11, and is an unmistakable allusion to the papal schism which was plotted in July, 1378, and consummated by the election of Clement VII as anti-Pope on the twentieth of the following September. Veritas has been speaking of the too great reverence paid to papal decisions, and adds, as an example of the popular folly, *Et si duo pape ex seminacione sathane electi fuerint, populi diversi elecciones illas approbant tanquam fidem. Et ex tali scismate oriri possent inconveniencia infinita.* The allusion is made the more pointed by the attack which follows on the method of election by cardinals instead of by lot, for the ground on which it was sought to invalidate the election of Urban was that the cardinals had been so intimidated by the clamour of the populace for a Roman pope, that they had made their choice against the guiding of the Holy Spirit. It is unfortunate that a passage of so much importance is not altogether free from difficulties of interpretation. If the reading *possent* is right, and the tense is to be pressed, it might be held to point to a date such as September, 1378, when the subject was already under discussion, but the news of the election of Clement had not yet reached England. It is more probable, however, that we ought to read *possunt*, especially as the words *populi diversi elecciones illas approbant tanquam fidem* would be more forcible after than before the recognition of Clement by the University of Paris, which did not take place till the spring of 1379.

Again the words *ex seminacione sathane* may be taken either with *electi fuerint* (= if by Satan's sowing two popes are elected), or with *duo pape* (= two popes of the seed of Satan), and the latter rendering points to a later date than the former, as it was not until some time after the bull of Nov. 1378, in which Urban excommunicated and declared war on his rival, that Wyclif lost all faith in him. In any case, however, the words *oriri possent inconveniencia multa* are so, almost ludicrously, inadequate to describe the effects of the schism that I think they must have been written when these effects had only begun to unfold themselves, i. e. some time in 1379.

Independently of its bearing on the date, the stage in the development of his opinions which Wyclif had reached in the *Dialogus* would naturally engage our attention. What does the *Dialogus* teach as to (1) the constitution of the Church, (2) the Friars, (3) the doctrine of Eucharist, are the points we have to consider, and we will take them in order. Dr. Buddensieg has pointed out [1] that, even in his latest works, 'Wyclif in no passage goes so far as downright and without modification to identify the Pope with Antichrist or the Devil . . . The Pope is Antichrist only in so far as he does or leaves undone this or that.' In this way, in Chapter 31, he is called Antichrist's vicar rather than Christ's, because of his encroachments on the temporal power (p. 73, l. 7), and in Chapter 7 his temporal possessions are said to make him an 'obstinate heretic' (p. 14, l. 4). In the same strain it is said that the name is unknown to Scripture, and that it might be good for the church to be without a Pope (p. 49), while the theory that he excels all other priests is traced to the interference of Constantine (pp. 82, 83). All this is stronger than we have in any work previous to 1378, and appears to belong to the beginning of the second of the three stages which Dr. Lechler has traced

[1] Wyclif's Latin Polemical Works, vol. i. p. 21.

in Wyclif's teaching as to the constitution of the Church. The same, I think, may be said of what we find written on other points. Thus an attack is made on the exercise for gain of the three distinctively episcopal functions of confirmation, ordination, and consecration of places (p. 50, l. 19), but it is not yet suggested that these can be exercised by any priest. Again, as to the endowment of the Church, the main subject of the treatise. Wyclif here teaches that all property held in direct ownership must be surrendered, but though his arguments tend in the direction of the abolition of tithes, his language on the subject is not so decided as in later works. That he attacks the monastic system with bitterness helps as nothing, for this was part of his earliest teaching, and his virulence on this point is in strong contrast with the comparatively moderate language about the Friars which we have next to consider. As to this it must be noted that the theory that Wyclif was friendly to the Mendicant Orders till the end of 1381 has been decisively disproved by Mr. Matthew. In the tract *De Officio Pastorali* (which both in its Latin and English versions alludes to Avignon as the residence of the Pope, which it had ceased to be after Gregory XI's triumphant entry into Rome in 1377) Wyclif is already using strong expressions against the Friars. Indeed, if it were not that he seems, until quite the end of his life, to have been much more moderate on this subject in his Latin than in his English writings, it would be difficult to explain how his language in the *Dialogus* is as temperate as it actually is. At the end of Chapter 30, and in a few other places, we have single passages more or less strongly condemnatory of them[1], but, as I have already observed, Chapter 19, of which they form the subject, is remarkable for the moderation of its language. This chapter, taken with the reference to them on p. 85, as likely to support the duty of poverty, suggests that the *Dialogus* was

[1] See heading 'Friars' in index.

written at a time when Wyclif was already strongly moved by the abuses which had crept into the Mendicant Orders, but had not yet abandoned all hope that they would range themselves on his side.

It remains for us to consider those references to the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist which invest the date of the *Dialogus* with its chief importance. According to the passage in the Fasciculi Zizaniorum, *sub anno Domini* MCCCLXXXI, *in æstate*[1] Wyclif set forth at Oxford twelve theses on the subject of Transubstantiation, and it has been generally assumed that the publication of these theses marks the date of his first opposition to the existing doctrine of the Catholic Church. That doctrine, as I understand it, was, and is, that by the act of Consecration the substance of the bread is changed into the substance of Christ's Body, but that the accidents of the bread, such as its colour, taste, etc., remain unchanged, as our eyes and palate assure us. In opposition to this Wyclif taught that, as accidents cannot exist without a substance, and the accidents after Consecration are plainly not the accidents of Christ's Body, which is in Heaven, the substance of the bread must remain. The result, therefore, of Consecration is not material, but spiritual, and the Host, although at every point in it verily and indeed Christ's Body, remains bread as to its substance as well as in its accidents. Besides two unimportant references on p. 32, l. 2, and p. 53, l. 19, the passages which relate to this subject are the following: (1) On p. 28, ll. 4 sqq. Veritas in arguing against the introduction of legends into the Church, uses as an example: *cum in festo corporis Christi de sancto sanctorum scribitur quod accidencia sunt in eucharistia sine*

[1] F. Z., p. 104. But the alteration of MDCCCLXXXI to MDCCCLXXX in the heading of the *Confessio* (F. Z. 115, note 1), and the fact that even if the theses were put forth the first day of Term, only three weeks are allowed for all that took place before the 'Confession,' and only six weeks for all William of Berton's measures, seriously affect the credibility of this date upon which so much has been founded.

subjecto, quod non fuit fides tempore augustini. (2) On p. 54, ll. 17 sqq. Veritas, after speaking of scholastic studies as fruitful of heresies, again takes as his example: *Ut que securitas est in istis defendendo quod hostia consecrata non sit corpus domini sed accidens incognitum sine subjecto, ut reserant nove secte?* (3) On p. 70, ll. 25 sqq. he actually is already proposing that this question should be made a test one, and that the priests and friars, on pain of outlawry, shall declare *regi et regno, ex efficaci autoritate scripture vel racione, quid in natura sua sit ipsa hostia consecrata.* These passages make it clear that at the time the *Dialogus* was written, Wyclif was already in the final stage of his opinion on the subject of Transubstantiation, though the form in which they are cast leaves it open to us to hold that he had not yet formulated his doctrine with the precision with which it is presented in the twelve theses. That he should have promulgated those theses without any previous discussion or warning appears antecedently improbable, and Mr. Matthew, in the Introduction to his 'Unprinted English Works of Wyclif' (pp. xx–xxiv), has already shown that there is no yawning chasm between these theses and Wyclif's teaching as early as 1367. The date which, in that Introduction, Mr. Matthew assigned to Wyclif's first public maintenance of his final view of the Eucharist is 1380, but I have his authority for saying that he now considers it 'most probable that Wyclifs final views on this subject were formed by 1379.'

Thus from an examination of its references to current events, and of its place in the development in Wyclif's doctrines, the *Dialogus* appears to have been written in the course of the year 1379. This date is further confirmed by the strong resemblance which our treatise bears to the *De Papa* which Mr. Matthew has assigned to 1380. On every other point the language of the *De Papa* is almost identical with that of the *Dialogus*, but on the schism, the doctrine of the Eucharist and the

uselessness of Universities[1] it is more pronounced, thus indicating that some such interval as a year must have elapsed between the two works. While, however, I thus tentatively put forth the year 1379 as the probable date of the *Dialogus*, I feel most strongly that until all Wyclif's works are in our hands no final decision is possible, and if I have treated the subject at some length it has been much more with a view of furnishing to riper scholars than myself the materials for consideration than from a desire to force my own opinion on my readers.

III.

Of the ten extant manuscripts of the *Dialogus* nine have been examined for this edition. The estimated expense of collating the tenth, which is at Prague, was unfortunately too great for the Wyclif Society to be justified in incurring it. For the description of the eight Vienna MSS. I am indebted to notes supplied by Dr. Herzberg-Fränkel, by whom the collations of the text have been made. The manuscripts are as follows:—

1. Ashburnham xxvii. c. ff. 97–116 and 118–121.

   On vellum, about $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$, written legibly, but without any attempt at adornment, in a charter hand of the Fifteenth century. The copyist has gone through his work and corrected it. The MS. has 121 leaves and contains three English Tracts and eleven in Latin, including a fly-sheet on the mystical sense of Castellum on f. 117. The *Dialogus* occupies leaves 97–116, and 118–121. The last four leaves contain Chapters 29, a

[1] On this last point there is a most interesting progression traceable between the language of the English version of the *De Officio Pastorali* (Cap. 14), the *Dialogus* (Cap. 26), and the *De Papa* (Cap. 10), which alone would go to prove that the *Dialogus* was written at the same time between the other two.

few lines of 30, and 31 and 32, as to which there is a note of omission between Chapters 28 and 33 (f. 114 b). This MS. does not contain the *Epilogus*, and wants the greater part of Chapter 30, but it gives Chapter 31, which is wanting in all the Vienna MSS.

2. Vienna, 1338. ff. 55 a–81 b. Cited as D.

On Parchment. 2 columns to the page, 4to. Handwriting of the beginning of the 15th century, and clear. Initials illuminated. With catchwords in various hands, and a few glosses. Heading, *Incipit Dialogus*. The Text divided into 22 chapters, omitting our Chapters 31 and 32. The *Epilogus*, preceded by Chapter 32, as an Appendix headed *Secuntur Capitula abstracta per falsos fratres a dyaloga, que communiter non habentur*. Without Wyclif's name. Fully described by Dr. Buddensieg. (Wyclif's Polemical Works, I. xlviii.)

3. Vienna, 1387. ff. 150 a–164 d. Cited as B′.

On Parchment. 2 columns to the page, folio. Handwriting of about 1400. Initials illuminated. With catchwords and, in another hand, glosses, but of no interest. Heading, *Dialogi Cap.* 1m. In the numeration of the chapters, Chapter 9 begins with the reply of Veritas in our Chapter 8, so that our 9–30 are numbered 10–31. Chapter 31, omitted. Chapter 32, part of the Appendix. Chapters 33–36, as in our text. The Appendix as in 1338, but without heading. With Wyclif's name at the end of the text, but not of the Appendix.

Fully described by Dr. Buddensieg. (Wyclif's Polemical Works, I. xlix.)

4. Vienna, 1622. ff. 133a–157 b.

On fine Parchment. 4to. Handwriting of the beginning of the 15th century. Beautifully written, but without heading, initial letters, chapter-numbers, catchwords, or glosses. Chapter 31 omitted. Without the Appendix. In the two lists of contents (on the inside of the leather and parchment covers respectively) this tract is enumerated as Dyalogus W. and Dyalogus Wykleph.

5. Vienna, 3930. ff. 1–20. Cited as B.

On paper. 2 columns to the page. Folio. Date of writing, 1412, of correction, 1414. Initials illuminated. With catchwords, but no glosses. Heading, *Dialogus*. The Chapters mostly unnumbered. Without the Appendix, but the contents otherwise as in 1387.

Very fully described by Dr. Buddensieg. (Wyclif's Polemical Works, I. xxxvii.)

6. Vienna, 4302. ff. 25–50 a.

On paper. 4to. Handwriting of the first half of the 15th century. With catchwords and glosses, but without Heading or Chapter-numbers. Contents as in 3930. Ends *Explicit dyalogus Mgri Ihns de anglia; qui vocabatur Wicleph.*

7. Vienna, 4505. ff. 1–29. Cited as C.

On paper. 4to. Handwriting of the first half of the 15th century. With catchwords resembling those of 3930, and with the glosses of 4302, but placed in the text and supplemented by others, some of which are in Bohemian. Contents (including the Appendix) as in 1387. At the end: *et sic est finis tractatuli M. Io. W. scilicet dyalogus. Explicit dyalogus editus a reverendo magistro Io. de Wy. sacre theologie professore doctoreque ewangelico nacionis anglicane.* On this follows a gloss on Chapter 1, and a now defaced inscription, Scribit Weñ . . . wecz Sebastiano Amico S. dilecto.

8. Vienna, 4515. ff. 1–25 a.

On paper. 4to. Handwriting of the first half of the 15th century. With catchwords, and with the same glosses as 4505, but expressed more shortly. Contents as in 3930. At the end: *Explicit dyalogus editus a reverendo Mgro Iohe de Wyklef sacre theologie professore doctorisque evangelici Anglicana nacione*, followed by the same gloss as in 3930. The glosses are in a different hand from the text, and the colophon in yet a third hand.

Fully described by Dr. Buddensieg. (Wyclif's Polemical Works, I. xlvi.)

9. Vienna, 4536. ff. 336–67a.

On paper. 4to. Handwriting of the first half of the 15th century. Initials in red. With catchwords, also glosses, both in the text and on the margin. Contents as in 3930. At end the word Pliaczka, then in another hand the same colophon and gloss as in 4505 and 4515, but with the name written Wlikeff. At the end of the Gloss: A nakonczy Palicka prziekel.

According to Dr. Herzberg-Fränkel the relations of these MSS. are as follows. The Ashburnham MS. stands by itself, with important differences from all the others. The eight Vienna MSS. fall into two head-groups, of which the first comprises 3930 and 1387, and the second the other six. This second group may be further subdivided into two groups, each of three manuscripts. To the first sub-group belong 1622, 1338, and 4302; to the second 4515, 4536, and 4505. The Vienna manuscript which approaches most nearly to the Ashburnham is 3930, but this has been corrected in another hand from one of the manuscripts of the 4505 sub-group. Halfway between this sub-group and the Ashburnham stands 1387, but more nearly related to the former.

The text of the present edition is taken from Lord Ashburnham's manuscript, transcribed some years ago by Mr. Matthew, and collated by myself. For the portion of Chapter 30 omitted in this manuscript, and for the *Epilogus*, the text is taken from 1387, transcribed for this edition by Dr. Herzberg-Fränkel. Dr. Herzberg-Fränkel has also supplied the materials for the collation of our text with those of 3930, 1387, 4505, and in the *Epilogus*, 1338. As regards these manuscripts I have to express my regret for having thoughtlessly relettered them in the order of their relation to the Ashburnham manuscript, instead of having adopted the letters used for them by Dr. Buddensieg in his edition of the Latin Polemical Works. As to the principle on which I have printed the text, I am glad to say that I found the Ashburnham manu-

script so good that I felt justified in printing it exactly as it stands, with the exception that in some three or four places letters which had accidentally been omitted have been inserted within brackets. On the other hand where the text has been taken from 1387 I have sometimes felt obliged to adopt the reading of one of the collated MSS. and relegate that of 1387 to a note.

As to the collations, in order to enable readers to see for themselves the exact value of the three manuscripts, for Chapters 1–7 I have printed every variation, however minute, except of course mere differences of spelling. As, however, the printing of petty variations has the effect of obscuring important ones, from Chapter 8 onward I have rejected such as seemed utterly worthless. But I believe that I have given, without exception, every variation in which the three collated manuscripts agreed, and, with very few exceptions, all of those which are given by any two of them.

It remains to refer briefly to the question of the place of Chapters 31 and 32, and generally of the arrangement of the latter part of our treatise. Chapter 31 is found only in the Ashburnham manuscript, the chapter numbered in the text 32 only in that and in three out of the eight Vienna MSS. The place of this latter chapter, where it does occur, is sufficiently singular, for in the Vienna MSS. it comes between Chapter 36 and the *Epilogus*, from which it does not appear to be in any way marked off. In the Ashburnham MS. I for a long time persuaded myself that the second digit was so faint that it might be a 2. I have now, however, no doubt that it is really a 7. Thus in this manuscript also the chapter appears as a kind of appendix. The justification for assigning it a place between our Chapters 31 and 33 lies in the fact that both in the Ashburnham MS. and in 1387 a place for a chapter is vacant, and that there appears no other way of filling it in the Ashburnham,

while in 1387 it is more likely that the lacuna should be supplied from the Appendix than by Chapter 31, of which none of the Viennese MSS. have any trace whatever. It is remarkable, however, how many difficulties the last thirty pages of the *Dialogus* present compared with the smoothness of what has gone before. We have first one chapter which only exists in a single manuscript; then another which is only given by four out of nine, and the place of which in these four is quite unexplainable; then a total abandonment of the Dialogue form; lastly, an *Epilogus* which is not, as it professes to be, merely a summary of the preceding arguments, but a fresh treatment of the subject, though on similar lines. Is it possible that there were two editions of the *Dialogus*, of which the first may be represented by the Vienna MSS. which have no Appendix, while the second contained new chapters not very artistically dovetailed into the earlier text? Such an hypothesis may perhaps compete with that of the scribe of 1338, who attributes the usual omission of the Appendix to the work of 'false brothers.'

In preparing this edition of the *Dialogus* I have incurred heavy debts of gratitude to several kind helpers. I would again allude to the great courtesy of the Earl of Ashburnham in allowing me the use of his manuscripts to correct proofs with, after it had already been transcribed. To Mr. R. L. Poole I owe my thanks for advice on the verifying of quotations, a field in which the best I could do compares but poorly with his own untiring energy. To Dr. Furnivall I am grateful for much cheery encouragement, and the most considerate patience with a very slow editor. But the debt which I am least able adequately to acknowledge is that with which Mr. F. D. Matthew has burdened me by his most generously given help, in pointing out errors of the press, in suggesting improvements in the analysis, and in aiding me with his most carefully considered advice

on all the many occasions on which I have asked it. I am far from satisfied with the way in which I have been able to edit this treatise, but that I can send it forth with any confidence at all is chiefly due to Mr. Matthew.

ALFRED W. POLLARD.

SPECULUM ECCLESIE MILITANTIS.

The work is to be in Latin as more widely known.

And in the form of a dialogue between Truth and Falsehood.

Truth standing for Christ, Falsehood for the Devil.

Cum idemptitas sit mater fastidie et pulcra alternacio delectat animum, ac lingua latina plus regulariter dilatatur atque extensius, visum est quibusdam quod sentencia catholica collecta fidelibus in vulgari reseretur communius in latino. Veritas enim utilis de quanto diffusius dilatatur de tanto mentes fidelium plus illustrat. Et quia multi delectantur in loquela dialogi, moventur a deo duas personas adducere, scil. veritatem atque mendacium, que per modum disputacionis loquuntur in ista materia alternatim. Et quia veritas est Christus, ut patet jo 14°, et diabolus ipsum mendacium, ut patet jo 8°, racionabile videtur veritatem proponere et sermonem istum, mediante Christi gracia stabilire.

ohn xiv. 6.

ohn viii. 4.

Men must rule their lives by Truth.

For this cause came Christ.

Veritas. Cum ego sum deus conditor cujuslibet creature et judicabo quoscunque homines vel ad beatitudinem vel ad eternum supplicium in finali judicio, racio exigit quod cuncti homines per meam legem, tam in suis conscienciis quam in operibus suis cunctis extrinsecis regulentur. Hec enim est racio quare Christus fuerat incarnatus et 30 annis et amplius cum suis fratribus conversatus, ut sermonibus suis

2. et, *pro* ac, B, B^1, C. et plus, B^1, C. regulariter *corr. ex* racionabiliter, B. racionabiliter, B^1. dilatata, B, B^1. dilatata *corr. ex* dilatura, C. 4. communiter, B^1. communi*us* (us, *in rasura*) B. 5. dilatata, *sed supra lin.* reseratur in latino, B. dilatata, *sed in marg. al. man.* reseratur in latino, B^1. reseratur, *sed in marg. al. man.* dilatata, C. 7. moventur *corr. ex* moveor, B. moveor, B^1. 8. et, *pro* atque, B, B^1. 9. loquantur, B, C. loquentur, B^1. 11. ergo racionabile, B, B^1. preponere *corr. ex* proponere, B. preponere, C. 12. et cetera, *add.* B. *rubr.* 'Incipit veritas suam ponere posicionem' *add.* C. 13. Veritas dicit, B. sim, B, C. 17. extrinsecis *corr. ex* extrinsecus, B. 18. fuerat *corr. ex* fuit, B. fuit, B^1.

The church militant is divided into three parts.

(i.) The Clergy, who especially must follow Christ; and must live by alms, thanking God for the tithes He gives them.

mansuetis veritas catholica plus lucescat. Finis autem tam digni laboris et tam assidui est ut homines qui sunt Christi ecclesia sint beati. Dividebam autem meam militantem ecclesiam in tres partes quarum prima foret clerus meus, qui vocantur sacerdotes * Christi; qui me instar apostolorum **B. 1 b.** propinquius in moribus sequerentur. Et sic ad animandum eos in humilitate, viverent de elemosinis instar mei. Per hoc enim de me magis recolerent; cum sim deus qui vendico partem decimam tanquam meam. Qui enim vivit de parte domini recoleret recencius dominum partem istam tam libere largientem.

(ii.) The Lords Temporal, who should represent the Divine power of Christ as the clergy his human humility.

These must defend God's law, and hold their goods from Christ by this service.

(iii.) The People, who must support the other two orders.

Secunda pars mee militantis ecclesie forent domini temporales, qui debent esse vicarii deitatis. Ideo sepe meminit augustinus quomodo rex est vicarius deitatis. Sacerdos autem qui secundum humilitatem et pauperiem debet procedere est vicarius humanitatis domini jhu Christi. Et sic secundum potentiam regulatam racione debent hii domini virtuose defendere legem dei. Nam titulo istius servicii tenent de Christo tanquam capitali domino quicquid habent. Tercia autem pars militantis ecclesie sunt vulgares qui in operarios, mercantes et iconomos multipliciter sunt divisi. Ista autem tercia pars et infima ut fundamentum sustinet duas partes alias in corporalibus necessariis vite. * Sed caritas que est **C. 1 b.**

1. enim, *pro* autem, B, B[1]. tm. (= tantum) B[1]. tantum, B, C. 2. sint, *pro* sunt, *al. man. in marg.* B[1]. 3. *rubr.* Divisio ecclesie militantis in tres partes in qua continue declarat officia parcium eiusdem ecclesie usque ad capitulum. *add.* C. *rubr. in marg.* Ecclesia dividitur in tres partes, B. aut istam, *pro* autem, B[1]. ecc. mil., *ord. inv.* B, B[1]. 6. propinquius, *om.* B[1]. 8. magis de me, *ord. inv.* B[1]. 9. viveret, B[1]. 10. deum, *pro* dominum, B. d'm = deum, B[1], C. 13. divinitatis, B. deitatis *seu* divinitatis, B[1]. Ideo . . . deitatis, *om.* B, B, C[1]. *in marg.:* Sacerdos vicarius Christi, Dominus vicarius divinitatis, B. 16. domini nostri, B[1]. Jes. Chr. dom., *ord. inv.* C. 17. virtuose, *om.* B, B[1]. 18. Xri., *pro* dei, B[1]. *rubr.* Hic ponitur causa quare domini temporales debent defendere legem dei, C. 19. pars autem, *ord. inv.* B, C. 21. Sunt mult., *ord. inv.* B, B[1]. 22. ultima (*add.*) et infima *corr. ex* et ultima, B. et ultima (*add.*) infima, B[1]. ultima (*add.*) et infima, C. al. duas part., *ord. inv.* B, B[1]. 23. vite sue, B, B[1]. vite necessariis sue *corr. ex* sue vite necessariis, C. *rubr.* Officium sacerdotis principalissimum est docere populum ex caritate per bonam vitam et sermonem, C.

These three parts must be knit by love.

The clergy must set a good example.

The temporal lords must promote Christian welfare.

The people must serve clergy and lords, as members all of one body.

tercia persona in divinis debet connectere has tres partes. Omnes enim iste tres debent sibi ipsis prodesse reciproce
B^1. 150 b et juvare. Clerus autem debet esse * vita aliis duabus
97 b. partibus inferioribus, et vivere ipsis spiritualius ac quo * ad mores mundius; et sic tam vita quam verbis docere eos viam ad beatitudinem promerendum. Media autem pars que est domini temporales debet quadam austeritate modesta juvare partes alterutras extremales, et specialiter secundum legem dei in his que promovent ad beatitudinem [conse]quendam.
B. 1 c. Tercia vero * pars vulgarium debet ex animo secundum regulam legis dei servire partibus duabus superioribus; cum omnes iste tres partes debent esse unum corpus ecclesie, currens hilariter in amore ad beatitudinem patrie consequendam.

CAPITULUM 2^m.

Each order has its own rule of life.

The clergy by their life of poverty and contemplation must teach the other orders to forsake the world.

VERITAS. Correspondenter ad vitas et officia istarum trium parcium ordinavi illis regulas vivendi, ne in suis officiis confundantur. Clerum autem, qui debet esse supremus et celo propinquissimus, ordinavi a causis mundialibus et mundi sollicitudinibus maxime sequestratum, et sic non dominaret seculariter sed deberet esse pauper, similis statui innocencie instar mei. Et sic debuit docere duas partes alias mundum deserere tam opere quam sermone. Et ista vita similis aquiline est ad similitudinem vite angelice contemplativa

1. tres, *al. man. in marg.* B. 2. ipsis, *al. man. inter lin.* B. *om.* B^1. 3. *rubr. in marg.* Clerus, B, C. autem, *om.* C. 5. eos docere, *ord. inv.* C. 6. promerendam *corr. al. man. ex* promerendum, B. 7. *in marg. rubr.* Domini temporales, B, C. 8. personas *sed al. man.* partes, B. p^{as}=*personas, sed al. man. in marg.* partes, B^1. alternatas, B. 9. consequendam, B, B^1, C. *in marg. rubr.* Volgares, B, C. 10. autem, *pro* vero, B, B^1. 11. sup. du., *ord. inv.* B, B^1. 13. in am. hil., *ord. inv.* B^1. 14. *rubr.* Veritas declarat materiam inceptam. *In marg.* Ca^m. 2^m. C. 15. Veritas declarat 3^m. B. 17. *in marg. rubr.* Regula cleri, C. 19. *sequitur rubr.* ecce sacerdos veritas, id est Christus, de te ordinat ut sis in tuis conversacionibus abstractus a curis mundanis, et tu vis utique ad oppositum, C. sic ut non dominaretur, ut *al. man.* B. sic non dominaretur, B^1. sic ut non dominaretur, C. 23. est aquiline, *ord. inv.* B.

Else they are no true clergy.

perfeccior quam activa. Et qui est indispositus hanc vitam vivere est indispositus clericari.

The temporal lords must be rich and powerful.

Secunda autem pars ecclesie debet dominari seculariter et esse in temporalibus opulenta, quia hoc est instrumentum necessarium suo officio quod isti parti ecclesie limitavi. Sic enim deitas cohercet homines dando illis rerum affluenciam, et immiscet quodammodo potentiam coactivam.

The people must work for their living.

The three orders must live in the harmony of love.

For the Church is a body of free judgment which should so dispose itself as to be open to the influence of its head.

Terciam autem partem et infimam volo in labore corporali vivere et circa lucrum temporalium se cum moderamine ocupare; et sic omnes has tres partes ecclesie volo, tam in spirituali quam in temporali quantum racio exigit, ad suum officium habundare. Et sicut in trinitate increata est summa concordia, sic volo in hiis tribus partibus ecclesie esse amoris concordiam, controversia expulsa secundum virtutis regulas, cum ecclesia sit corpus liberi arbitrii quod per Christi capitis * influencias reguletur. Disponat ergo se corpus ecclesie, et B. 1 d.
specialiter suprema pars que secundum augustinum debet esse montes, ut influencie hujus capitis coaptetur, et tunc bene regulabitur secundum graciam jhu Christi. Sicut enim pars bassior in qua vigent terre nascencia recipit influenciam suam a solari lumine, sic pars inferior terrene ecclesie recipit influenciam suam derivatam per clerum a sole justicie.

The goodness of the other orders depends on that of the clergy.

Nothing more disturbs the Church than for one order to do the work of another and leave its own.

* Et nichil sensibilius conturbat ecclesiam vel inducit in eam C. 2 a.
morbidam discrasiam quam quod una ejus pars accipiat ministeria alterius, et correspondenter officia et per consequens dimittat officia sibimet limitata. Nec est possibile Christum deficere officium et statum parti ecclesie limitare, nisi illi

3. *in marg. rubr.* Secularium regula, B. Regula secularium, C. 4. in, *al. man.* B. *om.* B¹. 5. isti, *corr. ex* recti, B. 8. *in marg. rubr.* Laborancium regula, B. Regula laborancium, C. et, *om.* B, B¹, C. nolo, *pro* volo, B. 10. tam temporalibus quam spiritualibus, B, B¹. tam spiritualibus quam temporalibus, C. 13. am. esse, *ord. inv.* C. 14. virtutum, B, B¹, C. 18. montes, *sed in marg. al. man.* innocens, C. 19. regulam, *pro* graciam, B¹. *in marg. rubr.* officia, B, C. 24. instrumenta, *pro* minist., B, B¹, C. 25. consequenter, B, B¹, C. et officia, *om.* B, B¹, C. 26. unum, *sed al. man.* Christum, B. 27. parti, *om.* B, B¹, C. militantes, *sed al. man.* limitare B. *al. man. sub* limitare, militanti, B¹.

B¹. 150 c. 98. parti deficiat * influxa * gracia ex peccato proprio, que se ad recipiendum dictam graciam indisponit. Nec omnia membra istarum parcium eque perficiunt officium quod statui suo attinet, sed unum magis et aliud minus, secundum quod radius gracie cum ipso homine operatur. Alia autem membra diaboli que seminantur in ecclesia non sunt proprie partes ejus, licet habeant carecterem sensibilem et nomen quoad famas hominum pupplicatum, quia verum officium quod deus requirit de persona status ecclesie est signum evidencius quam signum humanitus introductum. Ideo dicit Christus jo 10 'operibus credite.' John x. 38.

Not all members of these orders have the same fitness for their work.

But members of the devil living in the Church are not members of the Church.

These may be known by their works.

CAPITULUM 3^{m}.

Veritas. Quia autem vellem quod ista lex et cleri specialiter esset recencius memorata, feci illam scribi sepius in duplici testamento. Et sicut nemo potest excusari quin noscat in gradum qui sibi pertineat legem dei, sic nemo potest B. 2 a. excusari quin noscat quodammodo matrem suam. * Sicut enim oportet servire deo qui est caput ecclesie, sic oportet honorare matrem ecclesiam, que est principaliter conjux sua. Sed sicut habemus de Christo tam secundum divinitatem suam quam humanitatem hic parvam noticiam, sic habemus hic de ecclesia parvam noticiam et confusam. Unde igno-

Men are bound to know and honour God's Law and the Church

Ignorance of Christ and the

1. ecclesiæ *post* parti, *al. man. add.* B. se, *om.* B, B¹, C. 2. indisponunt, B. 3. *in marg. rubr.* mebra ecclesia, C. eque *al. man.*, B, B¹. secundum officium, B¹, B. 4. magis aliquod minus, B. magis aliud minus, B¹. maius aliquod minus. C. 5. in, *pro* cum, B. homine, *al. man.* B; *om.* B¹. *in marg. rubr.* hic loquitur monachus, C. 7. caracterum, B, B¹, C. 11. 16, B, B¹. 12. *sequitur rubr.* Veritas continuit in hoc capitulo vetus testamentum Num. 18 p̃onens quam vitam debent sacerdotes vivere probacio paupertatis. *In marg. rubr.* C^{m}. 3^{m}. C. 13. Veritas, 4^{m}. B. 14. michi, *pro* in, B. 15. testimonio, *sed al. man. in. marg.* testamento, B¹. sic, *pro* sicut, B¹. 15–17. quin . . . excusari, *om.* B¹. 16. in gradum, *om.* B, C. quid, *pro* qui B, C. secundum legem, B, C; *sed* secundum *al. man.* B. dei *int. lin. al. man.*, C. 18. serv. opor., *ord. inv.* C. caput est, *ord. inv.* C. 19. matrem suam, B, B¹. 21. suam, *om.* B, B¹. secundum (*add.*) humanitatem suam (*add.*), B, B¹.

Church causes rebellion.

The fifth commandment shows that men must support their mother the Church.

rancia legis Christi et partis ecclesie que hic vivit facit communiter membra diaboli et eciam filios ecclesie contra ipsam culpabiliter rebellare. Cum tamen ex primo mandato secunde tabule omnis fidelis debet ad sanacionem hujus matris modo quo deus voluerit laborare, nam numerorum 18 scribitur *Dixit Dominus ad aaron in terra eorum nichil possidebitis nec habetis partem inter eos ; ego pars et hereditas* Number xviii. 20. *tua in medio filiorum israel. Filiis autem levi dedi omnes decimas israelis in possessionem. pro ministerio quo serviunt mihi in tabernaculo federis* et sequitur *legitimum sempiternum erit in generacionibus vestris. Nichil aliud possidebunt, decimarum oblacione contenti quas in usus eorum et necessaria separavi.*

So the Levites had no lands, but lived by tithes and offerings.

Their example is to be followed as of divine ordinance.

And more closely under the new law than the old.

But the clergy obey in taking tithes and disobey in holding lands.

Ex quibus verbis notaret fidelis quod hec non dicit imperator vel papa sed hec dicit dominus tanquam fidem. Nec dubium quin verba ista dominus dirigat ad primam partem ecclesie, scilicet clerum suum, nec est color dicere quod hec verba directa fuerunt clero legis veteris et non nobis ; cum debemus nunc vivere spiritualius sicut Christus. Quare ergo virtute istius legis vendicamus nunc decimas, et primam partem negativam hujus legis deserimus. Revera hoc testatur contra nos quod de*generamus a clero Christi 98 b. in lege sua duplici terrenis possessionibus ocupati. Si ergo B. 2 b. illi sunt maledicti qui declinant a mandatis domini manifestum videtur quod clerus qui tam pertinaciter in temporali

1. vincit, *pro* vivit, B, B[1], C ; *in marg. al. man.* vicit, B[1]. 2. membra vel filios, B, B[1], C. 5. *in marg. rubr.* possessio, C. 6. deus, *sed. int. lin. rubr.* dominus, B. deus, B[1]. 7. habebitis, B, C. 9. *sequitur rubr.* Aaron fuit sacerdos et sic dicitur ad omnes sacerdotes, C. 9. israel, B, C. 10. et sequitur, *rubr.* C. 12. contentur, B. contententur, B[1], C. 14. fid. not., *ord. inv.* C. hoc, *pro* hec, B, B, C. 15. hoc, *pro* hec, B, B[1], C. *sequitur rubr.* Verbum dei magis est pensandum quam pape vel imperatoris, C. 16. deus (*pro* dominus) verba ista, *ord. inv.* B, B[1], deus (*pro* dominus) ista verba, *ord. inv.* C. 18. vet. leg., *ord. inv.* C. 19. viv. spir. nunc, *ord. inv.* C. 22. degiramus, B, B[1], C. *sed in marg. al. man.* degeneramus, B[1]. 23. dupliciter (ter, *al. man.*), B. dupliciter, C. 24. maled. sunt, *ord. inv.* C.

dominio obviat legi dei est hereticus maledictus. Et sic creditur quod, si consencientes et agentes sunt pariter heretici maledicti, magna pars militancium est divino judicio hereticus maledictus. Et ex illo convincunt ulterius, cum talis apud deum sit indispositus ad convincendum alios super heretica pravitate juxta illa jo 8 *qui sine peccato est vestrum mittat in illam lapidem*, curia romana est nimis indisposita ad convincendum alios super heretica pravitate. Istud tamen presumit temere, quia est ad sensum misticum castellum quod est contra Christi apostolos ut dicitur M. 21°.

They are thus guilty of heresy.

As also are the temporal lords as consenters with them.

John viii. 7.

By its guilt in this the Papal Court is incapable of judging heresy.

Mat. xxi. 2.

CAPITULUM 4m.

Deut. xviii. 1.

VERITAS. Secundum testimonium legis veteris scribitur deut 18° sub hiis verbis *Non habebunt sacerdotes et levite et omnes qui de eadem tribu sunt partem et hereditatem cum reliquo populo israel, quia sacrificia domini et oblaciones comedent et nichil aliud accipient de possessione fratrum suorum. Dominus enim ipse est hereditas eorum sicut locutus est illis.* Ex ista lege cum interpretacione legislatoris domini Jhu Christi patet expresse fidelibus cum facto vocate romane ecclesie quam expresse sunt sacerdotes moderni contrarii legi dei. Nam ubi deus mandat negativam, quod non habebunt sacerdotes et levite partem et hereditatem cum reliquo populo, clerus cum papa ex concessione stulta cesaris stabilit sibi pro lege

Deut. xviii. shows how plainly the clergy transgress.

They are forbidden to hold land, but by the foolish concession of the temporal power

1. *sequitur rubr.* Primus articulus, C *Verba* et . . . maledictus, *al. man. int. lin.* C. 2. sequitur, *sed in marg. al. man.* creditur, B. sunt, *in marg.* B¹. 5. est, *sed al. man.* sit, B. aliquos, *pro* alios, B, B¹, C. 7. eam, *pro* illam, B, B¹. *sequitur rubr.* secundus articulus, C. curia Romana, *rubr. in marg.* B. 8. aliquos, *pro* alios, B, B¹, C. 10. Christi, *om.* B, B¹, C. 22°, B¹. 12. Veritas prosequitur 5m., B. Veritas continuat ulterius, C. 15. oblaciones eius, B, C. comedunt, C. 16. suorum *corr. ex* eorum, C. 18. *post* domini *in marg. al. man.* nostri *add.* B. nostri *add.* C. expresse pate C. 19. vocato, C. 20. legi dei cont., *ord. inv.* C. domini, *pro* dei, B, B¹. 21. deus ubi, *ord. inv.* C. *sequitur rubr.* Ecce quomodo sacerdotes obediunt domino deo, C. sacerd. et lev., *om.* B¹. 23. cesaris, *om.* B¹. stabiliunt, B, C.

would hold it in perpetual lordship.

perpetua quod sacerdotes et levite habebunt capitaliter hereditatem perpetuam, que per totum Christianismum a suis **B. 20.** fratribus et dominis debeat ocupari. Unde cum hoc violentum et tam innaturale, a deo proibitum, sit abhominabile deo et angelis ac ecclesie militanti, non mirum si conversantes

Their temporal possessions force them to bear arms, usurping the duties of the second order.

cum illis de isto dominio tam abhominabili dedignantur. Et ideo non mirum necessitantur dicti clerici arma crudelius macabeis arripere et pugnare. Et sic officium prime partis

The Papal Court is thus heretical in deed as in word.

et secunde ecclesie simpliciter est subversum. Ideo si officium heretici, in quantum talis, sit false dogmatizare scripture sacre contrarie, etiam in sermone, patet ex hoc facto quod ipsa curia dogmatizans in opere tam pertinaciter et false dicte scripture contrarie sit hereticus manifestus, et eo patencius quo pupplicat dictam heresim tam manifeste per ecclesiam

Is not this synagogue of Satan ashamed to claim to be Christ's vicar and yet transgress his commands?

militantem. Quomodo rogo non verecundaretur hec sinagoga sathane pupplicare populo quod sit immediatus et proximus vicarius Christi et * suorum apostolorum. **99.** Et tamen in vita ipsis tam notorie adversantur. Frons quidem meretricis facta est illi et ideo est signum evidens quod sit diabolus in-

The flagrancy of their heresy makes a judicial declaration of it needless.

duratus. Nec valet excusacio antichristi quod non sunt heretici nisi probatum fuerit judicialiter quod sunt tales, et non superest homo super terram qui de ipsis summis partibus ecclesie poterit hoc probare; nam facta eorum cum vita hoc satis innuunt esse verum. Et per consequens apud Christum summum judicem deum nostrum, qui intuetur singula opera humana antequam fiant est luce clarius hoc probatum. Et

2. *post*, perpetuum, cum reliquo populo, *add.* B, B^1, C, *sed* B. *al. man. in marg.* 5. cum, *pro* si, B^1, B. 6. *in marg. al. man.* scilicet qui aufugiunt dominacionem secularem, B. 7. *post* mirum, quod, *al. man. add.* B. quod, *add.* C. 8. *sequitur rubr.* Ecce quanta mala inducunt divicie aput clerum, C. 9. ecclesie, *om.* B. subversum *corr. ex* submersum, B. 10. talis est, B. *in marg. rubr.* Curia Romana, B. sac. scrip., *ord. inv.* B, C. 12. Curia Romana, B. dictis, B, B^1, C. 16. pop. pub., *ord. inv.* C. 17. *sequitur rubr.* 3° articulus, C. 18. adversatur, B, B^1, C. 20. sint, *pro* sunt, B^1, C. 23. hoc, *corr. ex* hec, B. satis hoc, *ord. inv.* C. 25. supremum *corr. al. man. ex* summum, B. 26. clarius hoc, *in marg. al. man.* B^1.

probacioni sue atque judicio oportet fidelem stare plusquam judicio pilativo. Christus enim ex fide dixit jo 10 judeis perfidis *Si non facio opera patris * mei nolite mihi credere.* Si autem facio etsi michi non vultis credere operibus credite.* Si autem Christus deus et homo ex fide reliquit judeis judicium ex suis operibus judicandum, quis est iste antichristus qui non vult ex operibus in malicia tam patentibus ab hominibus judicari. Non enim requiritur nobis processus in foro cesario sed processus in foro consciencie, ad sic quomodo Christus exigit operandum.

John x. 37, 38.
B. 2 d.
B¹. 151 a.

They are condemned by the tribunal of conscience.

CAPITULUM 5m.

Veritas. Tercia autem lex veteris testamenti sequitur Ezekiel 44° cap° in hiis verbis. *Ait dominus deus, non erit sacerdotibus hereditas; ego hereditas eorum. Et possessionem non dabitis eis in israel; ego enim possessio eorum. Victimam et pro peccato et pro delicto ipsi comedent et omne votum in israel ipsorum erit, et primitiva omnium pecorum progenitorum et omnia libamenta ex omnibus que offeruntur sacerdotum erunt et primitiva ciborum vestrorum dabitis sacerdoti, ut reponat benediccionem domui sue. Omne morticinum et captum a bestia de avibus et de pecoribus non comedent sacerdotes.* Talia sunt multa mandata domini, ut patet illi qui in hiis tribus voluerit fideliter quietari. In istis autem tanguntur multe ceremonie, sed omnes ipse sunt cum basali prevaricancia ad sensum alium duplicate. Et cum Christus ex fide sit optimus legis inter-

Ezekiel xliv. 28.

Temporal possessions are again condemned by Ezekiel.

1. probacionis, B. iudicem, *pro* iudicio, B. 2. pilatino, B¹, C. vii°., B¹. 3. si autem . . . credite, *om.* B, B¹, C. 6. iudicandi, B¹, C. 7. tantum, *pro* tam B, B¹, C. 8. requiritur *in marg. al. man.* B¹. processio *al. man.* B. 11. Veritas iterum vi^m, *rubr.* B. Sequitur Veritas, B¹. 12. cap°, *om.* B. *in marg. rubr.* Possessio, B. 14. ego *al. man.* B. 15. et *post* victimam, *om.* B, B¹, C. pro *ante* delicto, *om.* C. 16. primogenitorum, B. 17. libamina, B, B¹, C. 19. morticinium, B, B¹, C. et captum, *om.* B¹. captum, *al. man.* B. 21. fid. vol., *ord. inv.* B. 22. *sequitur rubr.* Ecce qui dicit ego nescio quomodo debeo legem Christi tenere hic discat, C. 23. in, *pro* cum, B, B¹, C. al. sens., *ord. inv.* B. 24. sit ex fide, *ord. inv.* B. scripture *post* fide, *add.* B¹.

And Christ said He had not come to destroy the law but to fulfil

pres, patet quod sicut ipse qui non venit legem solvere sed implere docuit ipsam debere servari tam opere quam sermone, sic servanda est a sacerdotibus legis gracie, nec capit dictum istud excusacionem, nisi istam nephariam, quod sacerdotes isti quos vides in mandatum istud dei offendere non sunt sacer-

The clergy can only plead that they are not Christ's priests but Baal's.

dotes Christi vel pars ejus; ideo ipsis non attinent * iste leges, B. 3 a.
qui pocius sunt sacerdotes baal vel belial; ideo * debent sequi 99 b.
antichristum et per consequens in vita adversari domino

If Christ's law is to be believed, those who tamper with it are heretics.

jhu Christo. Et sic, si lex domini debet credi, patet quod tales prevaricatores cum suis fautoribus sunt heretici manifesti. Nec credimus [quod] antichristus dispensavit cum istis legibus

It is incredible that the law is suspended now when the need of it is greater than ever.

vel suspendit ipsas quamdiu sibi libuerat. Patet quod ista verba sunt frivola et in die finalis judicii condempnanda. Cum enim tanta sit racio vel major observancie harum legum, modo invalescente cupidine sicut fuit tempore veteris testamenti, patet quod necesse foret sacerdotes modo servare has leges contra avariciam tam sui quam populi, sicut fuit tempore quo non tantum candebat cupiditas. Et videtur peccatum istud invalescere ex cautela speciali * diaboli invidentis Christo, qui C. 3 b.

Witness the increase of simony, etc.

in temptacione tercia renuit taliter dominari. Ex hoc enim symonia forcius est intrata, parsimonia est suspensa, et evangelizacio cum aliis ministeriis injunctis a Christo est a diabolo istis sacerdotibus interdicta. Per hoc autem inhabiles aspi-

So, too, avaricious priests pant for advancement and persecute faithful preachers.

rant ad superiores gradus sacerdocii et impediunt verbum dei predicari in populo; et anelantes ad illud tanquam hereticos persecuntur, et ista persecucio est heresis sue manifestum in-

2. adimplere, B, C. servare, B. 6. *sub* ideo *al. man.* ubi, B. 7. quin, *pro* qui, B, B^1, C. 10. Numquid, *pro* nec, B, B^1, C. 11. credimus quod, B, B^1, C. dispensabit, B, B^1, C. suspendet, B, B^1, C. 12. sunt verba, *ord. inv.* B, C. 14. racio sit, *ord. inv.* C. maior, *om.* B^1, C. observancia, C. legum, *om.* B, B^1, C, *sed al. man. in marg.* scilicet legum, C. 15. tempore, *al. man.* B. 16. necessario, *pro* necesse, B, B^1. observare, B, B^1. 17. non, *om.* B^1. 19. ex spec. caut., *ord. inv.* B. 20. *in marg. rubr.* Dominacio cleri causat tria mala, B, C. 21. nutrita, B, B^1, C. 24. hos, *pro* ad, B, B^1, C. *sequitur rubr.* Ecce causa quare ydiote gradū su sa^{nt} (suscipiunt sacerdotalem?), C. 25. in populo, *al. man. in marg.* B^1. 26. sive, *pro* sue, B.

dicium; nec sufficiunt pauperes et pauci fideles sacerdotes resistere, nisi deus per seculare brachium vel aliunde cicius manus apposuerit adjutrices.

CAPITULUM 6m.

¹. 151 b. . 3 b.

VERITAS. Ex multiplici * testimonio legis gracie patet quomodo Christus prima veritas autorizavit istam sententiam * tam opere quam sermone. Et cum ex fide ipse sit autor primus, quia deus et homo, patet quomodo ista sententia sit fides elaborata vivacius. Et sic omnis catholicus debet credere, predicare et defendere istam fidem. Ex hoc enim Christus ipsam sic docuit ut foret exemplar suis sacerdotibus, ut patet de apostolis, ad vivendum; ymmo cunctis fidelibus ad mundanam superbiam deserendum. Et hec racio quare fides evangelica tam crebro in ecclesia est edocta; quia totum evangelium redundat in istam sententiam tanquam finem. Pauca autem testimonia sufficit hic adducere, particulariter ad istam fidem vigilancius memorandum. Nam M. 10 postquam jacobus et johannes aspiraverant ad excellenciam super alios, dicit Christus. *Scitis quia hii qui videntur principari gentibus dominantur eis et principes eorum potestatem habent ipsorum. Non est autem ita in vobis, sed quicunque voluerit fieri major erit minister vester, et quicunque primus voluerit esse vobis erit omnium servus. Nam et filius hominis non venit ut ministraretur*

Christ, then, taught this duty of poverty.

And gave examples in Himself and His apostles.

To this the gospels continually witness.

Matt. xx. 25.

1. *sequitur* Nota finem 3ii articuli, C. paup. pauci et fid., *ord. inv.* B. pauci paup. et fid., *ord. inv.* C. 5. Veritas respondet 7m. *rubr.* B. Ex multiplici, *al. man.* B¹. 6. auctorisat, B. 9. viv. elab., *ord. inv.* C. *sequitur rubr.* Aperias oculos si vis sane intelligere, C. 10. et predicare, B¹. ist. fid. defensare (*pro* defendere), *ord. inv.* C. 11. in, *pro* de, B, B¹, C. 13. *sup.* deserendum, *al. man.* docet, B. hec est, B, B¹, C. 16. *al. man. in marg.* pertinenter, *pro* particulariter, B¹. 17. 20, B¹, C. 18. supra, C. 19. aliis, B, B¹, C. dicit, *corr. ex* dixit, B. scio, *pro* scitis, B, C. quod, *pro* quia, B, B¹, C. *sequitur rubr. in marg.* Possessio, C. in gentibus, B, B¹, C; *sed* in *al. man. in marg.* B. 21. voluit, B¹. 22. vol. prim., *ord. inv.* B, B¹, C. in vobis, B¹, C. in vobis *al. man. in marg.* B. 23. omnium *al. man.* B.

*ei, sed ut ministraret et daret animam suam redemp**cionem pro* 100.
multis. Ex ista fide patet luce clarius quomodo Christus tam

Christ taught that worldly primacy must be abandoned for the evangelical primacy of humility and patience.

opere quam sermone docuit apostolos et suos vicarios priori-
tatem atque majoritatem mundanam relinquere. Patet 2°
quomodo Christus magister optimus distinxit inter has duas
prioritates, scilicet mundanam et evangelicam, et ipsam
primam a suis sacerdotibus separavit. Non est, inquit, ita in
vobis. Et patet tercio penes quid prioritas sive ma*joritas B. 3 c.
evangelica debeat mensurari. Ille autem qui est humilior
servitivior et paciencior est prior vel major coram domino jhu
Christo. Talis enim fuit ipse coram deo et propterea fuit pri-
mus. Et istam fidem notarent prelati ecclesie et papa precipue;

Their perversion of this doctrine makes the Pope and the bishops most obviously heretical.

quia pervertentes illam ad sensum contrarium * et affectantes C. 4 a.
majoritatem mundanam more gencium, forent prelati heretici
in isto perverso dogmate principales. Cum ergo Christus do-
cet tam expresse in verbis istam sentenciam, et tam laboriose
atque diutine exemplat in opere, nullus prelatus est anti-
christus pocior quam ille qui huic fidei est contrarius opere et
sermone. Nec solum isti prelati antichristiani sed mundani
domini consencientes isti facinori sunt, ut sunt, capitales
inimici domini jhu Christi quia faciunt partem perfidam
contra Christum.

1. ei, *ai. man.* B. redempcionem, *om.* B, B^1, C. 4. ac, *pro* atque, B, B^1, C. *sequitur rubr.* Nos vero volumus habere contrarium, vel nos mentimur vel Christum, C. *rubr. in marg.* prioritas 2°. B. Prioritas duplex, C. 6. ipsam, *om.* C. 7. *ut in text. sed corr. in* ab ipsis sacerdotis suis, B. enim, *pro* est, B^1. erit ita, B^1. 10. est, *om.* B^1. servitivior *corr.* ex serviencior, B. servitōr̃, *et al. man. in marg.* servitivior, B^1. servilior, C. et, *pro* vel, B, C. 11. est *pro* fuit, B^1, C. ipse fuit, *ord. inv.* B. 18. ille, *om.* B, B^1, C. in opere, C. 20. ut *al. man*, B. inimici *al. man. in marg.* C. 21. domini nostri, B, C. *sed* nostri *al. man.* B. fidem *post* faciunt *add.* B, C; *sed* B. *al. man. in marg.* etc. *add.* B.

CAPITULUM VII.

VERITAS. Iterum Christus docet in verbis suam pauperiem Mat. 8° cuidam fingenti se velle sequi Christum, dum tamen terrenorum cupiditas fuit causa. *Vulpes*, inquit, *foveas habent, et volucres celi nidos, filius autem hominis non habet ubi capud suum reclinet;* quasi diceret: noli sequi me propter spem lucri terreni, cum sim pauperrimus homo mundi, sicut dicit in suo apostolo 2 Cor. 8° *Scitis enim graciam domini nostri jhu Christi qui propter vos egenus factus est, ut illius inopia vos divites essetis.* Et ad idem sonat evangelium totum concorditer a nativitate Christi que facta est in diversorio usque ad mortem penalem et pauperem que facta est in cruce. Ubi ergo major infidelitas quam prelatos et sacerdotes alios tam cece deserere * sanctam fidem. Nec solum dotati presbiteri ipsam deserunt, sed exproprietarii imponentes Christo blasfeme quod ab ipso edocti sunt taliter mendicare. Christus enim fuit homo pauperrimus, cum pauperies sua sonuit in perfeccionem virtutum, et in qualibet perfeccione hujusmodi fuit summus; et tamen citra istam mendicacionem tenebat se in medio, juxta illud quod docet sapienciam * salomonis prov. 30 *mendicitatem et divicias ne dederis michi, tribue tantum victui meo necessaria.* Et hoc movebat apostolum p^a thymo 6° traden-

Matt. viii. 20. — 2 Cor. viii. 9. — B. 151 c. — B. 3 d. — 100 b. — Prov. xxx. 8. — 1 Tim. vi. 7.

Christ's poverty a warning to those who follow Him for gain.

How grossly then do prelates and priests desert the faith.

As also friars who pretend to have learnt begging from Christ Who was poorest of the poor, but never begged.

Solomon and S. Paul both preach contentment with little.

2. *rubr.* Veritas sequitur C^{am}. viii^{m}., B. Veritas dicit ulterius, C. docet Christus, *ord. inv.* B, B^1. 4. cup. terr., *ord. inv.* C. *rubr. in marg.* Pauperies Christi, B, C. 6. dicat, C. me sequi, *ord. inv.* B. 9. nos, *pro* vos, B, B^1, C. factus est egenus, *ord. inv.* B, B^1, C. nos, *pro* vos, B, B^1, C. *sed* B. *al. man.* 10. essemus, B, B^1, C. tot. ewang., *ord. inv.* B, B^1. 12. pauperiem, B, C. *sequitur rubr.* paupertas Christi, C. 13. tam, *al. man.* B. 14. istam, *pro* sanctam, B^1, C. *post* fidem *add. rubr.* Tangit claustrales blasfemias, C. 15. sed et, C. blasfeme, *sed in marg. al. man.* blasfemiam, C. 17. paupertas, B^1. 18. fuit, *om.* B, B^1, C. 19. cum, *pro* tamen, B^1, C. 20. sapiencia, B, C. 26 *vel* 36. *tunc rubr.* hic habetur quod Christus non mendicavit ab homine, C. 21. mendicitatem, *sed supra* citatem, *al. man.* cacionem, B. mendicacionem, B^1. sed tribue, C. 22. per apostolum, B, B^1, C.

tem generaliter sacerdotibus pro regula istam fidem: *Nichil,* inquit *intulimus in hunc mundum, haut dubium nec aliquid inde auferre possumus. Habentes igitur alimenta et quibus tegamur hiis contenti simus.* Et hic videtur fidelibus si auderent depromere, quod papa et tota secta sua dotata temporali dominio sit hereticus induratus, quia scripture que non potest solvi pertinaciter contrarius; sed quis est hereticus nisi talis? Unde petrus p^{a} petri 5° precipit: *pascite qui in* 1 Pet.v. 2 *vobis est gregem dei, providentes non coacte sed spontanee secundum deum, neque turpis lucri gracia sed voluntarie. Neque ut dominantes in clero, sed forma facti gregis ex animo, ut cum apparuerit princeps pastorum percipiatis immarcessibilem glorie coronam.* Sed sicut vita pape et cleri sui cesarii soporavit istam petri sentenciam, sic decretales epistole soporaverant istam fidem. Ideo videtur evidens * quod prelati C. 4 b. ignorantes istam fidem tam opere quam sermone sunt perfidi antichristi. * Et cum ex fide claret fidelibus quod in isto B. 4 a. unico verbo petri sit salubrior sentencia quam in omnibus epistolis decretalibus vel bullis papalibus, patet quod stulte clerici deserunt discere hanc fidem salubrem et student ista apocrifa que seducunt.

His temporal possessions thus make the Pope a heretic.

For he clearly disobeys S. Peter.

As popes stultify the truth by their lives so papal decretals stultify the doctrine.

But this verse from S. Peter is worth more than all the bulls.

1. pro *al. man.* B. istam pro reg., *ord. inv.* C. *rubr. in marg.* Mendicacionem, C. 2. inquit, *al. man.* B. *om.* B^1. quicquid *corr. ex* aliquid, B^1. 3. *pro* igitur, sibi, *sed al. man.* inquit, B. inquit, B^1, C. 4. contentemur, *pro* contenti simus, C. 5. exprimere, *pro* depromere, B, B^1, C. *rubr. in marg.* Papa, B. sua, B, C. 6. scripture sacre, C. 7. est *corr. al. man.* ex sit. 8. *sequitur rubr.* hahahanezzadng (Boh. = maledicti) prelati, C. petrus, *om.* B^1. inquit, *add. post* pascite, B. 13. glorie, *om.* B, B^1, C. sui cleri, *ord. inv.* B. 14. soporaverunt *corr. ex* soporaverant, B, B^1. 19. *rubr. in marg.* Decretales, B. *supra* vel *al. man.* et, B. quam, *pro* quod, B, B^1. stolide, *sed al. man. in marg.* stulte, B. 20. deser. cler., *ord. inv.* B.

CAPITULUM VIII.[1]

Mend. objects:

MENDACIUM. * Nimis patenter reseras conversacionem, quam increpas prelatorum; sed audi partem alteram in responsionibus et repplicacionibus, et tunc potes magis evidenter procedere.

Christ preached poverty but not as a permanent law.

The need for it is passed, and the glory of the clergy should be restored.

Their domains are held in the name of Christ crucified and should be greater.

Concedo quidem tibi quod Christus vixit et docuit vitam pauperem sed noluit ipsam esse perpetuam, cum dicat in apostolo allegato quod Christus sic egenus factus est ut illis inopia vos divites essetis. Superbia autem et cupiditas sacerdotum legis veteris qui Christum occiderant requirebant Christum sic vivere et docere. Sed postquam repressa sunt ista peccata dignitas sacerdotum exigit quod clerus ad priorem gloriam revertatur; in cujus signum predia quibus dotatur ecclesia vocantur patrimonium crucifixi. Christus enim virtute passionis sue et meriti adquisivit sue ecclesie omnia ista dominia, et, si,
'. 151 d. justicia posset pro*cedere, ampliora; et cum ista sentencia concordant concessiones dominorum temporalium et vite papales patule atque leges.

Ver. answers:

Can Christ who reproved avarice in priests of the old law permit it in those of the new?

VERITAS. Video quod fraudulenter misceas quedam vera cum falsis. Concipis quidem veritatem fidei quod Christus tam in vita quam doctrina docuit pauperiem observari. Sed
. 4 b. quod consequenter addis, hanc * Christi sentenciam durare ad tempus modicum et postea clerum suum redire ad seculum amplius quam vixerunt legis veteris sacerdotes, infideliter
)1. gar*rulas et contrarie racioni. Si enim Christus tam diu et

[1] Jam hinc ea glossemata easque lectiones quae mihi ad vera verba auctoris restituenda inutilia videantur, omittam.

8. sit, *pro* sic B. est, *om.* B, B¹, C. nos, *pro* vos, B, B¹, C. 9. essemus, B, B¹, C. 12. priorem, *sed* patrimonii *al. man. in marg.* B. priorem *sed* patrimonii *in marg.* B¹. patrimonii, C. 15. et, *sed al. man.* ut, B. ut, B¹, C. sic, *pro* si, B, B¹, C. 16. in sciencia, *pro* justicia B, B¹, C. possit, B, C. ampliori, B, C. 22. Christi, *om.* B, B¹, C. 23. per, *pro* ad, B, B¹, C. mod. temp., *ord. inv.* B, B¹, C. 25. et contra Christum, *add. post* racioni, B.

Priests are more avaricious now than ever.

There is thus the greatest need that the law of poverty should be observed.

Is Christ's law to last three centuries, Antichrist's for ever?

To maintain this is to put the Devil above Christ.

tam dure reprobavit hoc peccatum in sacerdotibus legis veteris, quomodo sacerdotem legis gracie nove movet redire ad dictam avariciam sicut canis redit ad vomitum? Jam enim plus ditantur et gloriantur in seculo clerici et precipui sacerdotes quam ditabantur vel gloriabantur in seculo scribe pharisei vel principes sacerdotum. Ideo, cum tanta sit racio perpetuacionis hujus legis Christi ut patet de statu innocencie et statu glorie, patet quod ista lex Christi debet precipue in novissimis temporibus observari; tunc enim diabolus plus temptat homines ad avariciam. Ideo est magis necessarium in clero, qui debet esse speculum populi, apponere medicinam. Que ergo racio, cum hodie tantum dominatur cupiditas quare Christi pauperies tantum deprimitur et antichristi rabies tantum extollitur? Numquid racio concordat quod hec lex Christi in racione exemplari eterna sit per trecentos annos tantummodo observata et lex antichristiana contraria in temporibus tam periculosis sit perpetuata. Idem enim est sic dicere et extollere diabolum supra Christum, ac si infidelis annueret quod lex Christi tam necessaria et salubris durabit ad horam sub colore * divini beneplaciti, sed lex antichristi plena veneno atque mortifera duret perpetuo ut excitet homines ad peccandum. Sed quis Christianus talem blasfemam responsiunculam tolleraret? * Ulterius novit catholicus quomodo sunt due diviciarum maneries, scilicet divicie temporales et divicie celestes et spirituales. Et prime divicie vix cum virtutibus moderate ducunt ad celestes divicias, que sunt vere, de quibus loquitur apostolus Christi supra. Ideo haberes conscienciam super ista loquela heretica, quam innuis super fide scripture apostoli. Oportet enim per penalitatem et pauperiem hic in via mereri celestes divicias et beatitudinem in patria.

C. 5 a.

B. 4 c.

There are two sorts of riches, earthly and heavenly, which sort ill together.

By contemning the earthly, men should win the heavenly.

2. sacerdotes, B, B^1, C. nove, *om.* B, B^1, C. moveret, B, B^1, C. 3. dictam, *om.* B, B^1, C. 4. clerici, *om.* B, B^1, C. 6. et pharisei, B, B^1. racio sit, *ord. inv.* B, B^1, C. 18. fidelis, *pro* infidelis, B, B^1, C. 24. due, *om.* B, B^1, C. sunt, enim, *pro* scilicet, B, C; *sed* enim *al. man.* B. sunt *corr. ex* scilicet, B.

CAPITULUM 9[m].

Adhuc pro declaracione ulteriori objectus heretici quem inculcas, notandum est quod sicut avari principes sacerdotum et pharisei legis veteris humanitatem Christi occiderant propter timorem amissionis bonorum temporalium, sic diciores principes sacerdotum pro tempore legis gracie divinitatem Christi, quia veritatem legis evangelice quantum suffecerant extinxerunt. Ideo ut multis videtur postquam majorem Christi gratitudinem perceperant tanquam plus ingrati magis [John xi. 47.] peccaverant. Unde jo 11° sic scribitur: *collegerunt pontifices et pharisei concilium adversus jhm et dicebant, quid facimus* [B¹. 152 a.] *quia * hic homo multa signa facit? Si dimittimus eum sic omnes credent in eum, et venient Romani et tollent locum nostrum et gentem.* Sed principes sacerdotum et Pharisei tempore legis gracie habent scriptas bullas et cartas, que omnes sonant in suam avariciam et veritatem evangelicam nituntur extinguere, et promulgantes eam licet trepide per- [.01 b.] secuntur: * et sic ut videtur multis nostri principes sacerdotum et pharisei multipliciter magis peccant, quia sunt [3. 4 d.] sub majori ipocrisi * plus ingrati, et non solum cum majori multitudine Christum persecuntur in membris, sed tanquam eis summum odibile contempnunt predicacionem evangelice veritatis. Cujus causa videtur quia sciunt ex fide catholica quod debent Christum sequi in moribus. Et evangelium docet cum vita eorum quod sunt vite et doctrine Christi nimis contrarii. Ideo odiunt quod istud populo declaretur. Et sic quantum ad gloriam quam fingis Christi sacerdotibus debere modo competere, patet quod ignominiam vocas gloriam, cum in statu plus periculoso hortaris quod clerus relinquat arma spiritualia, in quibus debet diabolum, carnem et seculum

As the rich Pharisees killed Christ's manhood for fear of losing their wealth, so our richer priesthood would kill His godhead by trying to crush gospel truth.

Their bulls and charters aim at this.

So also they hate gospel truth to be preached.

Knowing that their lives contradict it.

As for the 'glory of the clergy' it is really their shame.

2. sacerdotum, *om.* B, B¹, C. 10. peccaverunt, B, B¹, C. 18. et, *om.* B, B¹, C. sacerdotum, *om.* B, B¹, C. 30. mundum, *pro* seculum, B, B¹, C.

And the argument imputes ignorance to Christ.

Even worse is the blasphemy in speaking of the 'patrimony of Christ crucified.'

For this shifts upon Christ the blame of the clergy's sin.

superare; et preter hec imponis Christo manifestam blasfemiam: quod ipse tanquam reditus istius ignarus, vel conversacionem ecclesie sue necgligens, istum reditum dereliquit. Et quantum ad nominacionem patrimonii crucifixi, patet quod multiplicas blasfemias contra clerum; quia magnum peccatum est prevaricari sic in mandatum domini, sed major * blasfemia est imponere Christo quod ipse C. 5 b. approbat et necessitat clericos sic peccare. Sic enim, tanquam alter adam, nititur clerus suam culpam in dominum retorquere: *mulier inquit, quam dedisti michi sociam dedit* Gen. iii. 1 *michi de ligno et comedi* ut patet gen 3°. Clerus autem mentitur innuitive longe abjeccius cum dicat quod Christus in ligno fuerat crucifixus ut clerus suus postmodum taliter dominetur. Sed que major blasfemia quam Christo imponere talem culpam? Et per consequens est summa blasfemia quod clerus Christi virtute hujus passionis pauperis et humilis debet sic toto seculo dominari. Et quantum ad cartas et concessiones secularium dominorum patet quod clerus * erubesceret inniti tam culpabili fundamento. Nam B. 5 a. imperator et domini alii in hoc per regem superbie sunt seducti. Ideo expergiscant sompno istius criminis soporati, et cognoscant hoc principium clare demonstrabile apud catholicos quod in nullo valet humana concessio, nisi prehabita licencia a domino capitali. Cum ergo non possunt docere quod ad hoc dominium habebant a Christo licenciam, patet quod tam lege humana quam divina est ista stulta donacio irritanda. Vel ergo oportet ipsos negare blasfeme Christi capitale dominium supra cesarem, vel concedere donacionem istius dominii esse illicitam et per consequens a catholicis respuendam, vel 3° ad hoc ostendere Christi licenciam specialem. Et de quanto clerus vel seculares

As vain is the plea of concessions from temporal lords.

For no human concession holds good except by leave of the superior lord.

And no such leave can be shown from Christ.

They must either deny Christ's lordship, own the concessions invalid, or show His leave.

9. deum, *pro* dominum, B, B¹, C. 11. de ligno, *om.* B, B¹, C. 14–16. quam . . . blasfemia, *om.* B, B¹, C. 23. contraria, *sed in marg.* humana, B. 25. habeant, B, B¹, C. 27. *sup.* irritanda *al. man.* evitanda, B. evitanda, *sed. al. man. in marg.* irritanda, B¹, C. 30. 2°., B, B¹, C. ost. ad hoc, *ord. inv.* B, B¹, C.

domini in isto crimine diucius immorantur, de tanto in peccato
maximo diabolice se indurant. Et quantum ad leges et
vitas papales patet quod est confirmacio criminis sicut prius.
Quid enim valent iste evidencie nisi probate fuerint racio-
102. nibus vel scriptura. Sed, cum non sunt in Christo * est et
non, patet quod impossibile est istorum alterutro tradiciones
istas papales vel leges hominum stabilire. Et vellem quod,
clerus contra expropriacionem istam remurmurans, etiam
papa ad istam racionem efficaciter responderet. Et certum
est quod non superest fructuosa responsio, nisi reddicio rei
tam diu injuste detente, et istud cum contricione, potest per
dei graciam capitali domino complacere.

The example of popes is vain unless supported by reason or scripture.

As Christ does not contradict Himself such proof is impossible.

The only true answer for the clergy is contrite restitution.

CAPITULUM 10m.

Mendacium. Videtur stulta presumpcio istam materiam
in novissimis temporibus attemptare. Multi quidem fuerunt
B. 5 b. sancti canonizati in ecclesia, qui istam dotacionem * cleri
multipliciter approbarunt. Et si testimonium vel consciencia
ponderatur haberi possunt mille fideles recte consciencie
contra paucos hereticos. Cui ergo parti pocius est creden-
dum. Consuetudo ergo tot sanctorum veterum approbata in
ecclesia sancta concorditer daret fidem.

Mend. objects that the authority of the saints is on the side of endowment.

Veritas. Ista non sunt verba racionis sed contencionis et
exprobracionis; ideo sunt humiliter, sapienter et pacienter a
fidelibus transcurrenda. Cum autem ex fide omnes sancti
citra Christum, ut johannes confitetur, multipliciter pecca-
verunt, patet quod omnes citra Christum habuerunt valde
C. 6 a. antiquam consuetudinem * ad peccandum. Ideo si Christi

Ver. answers: the authority of saints, none free from sin, cannot be set against Christ.

2. diabolico, B, B[1], C. 5. nisi est est et non, *pro* est et, B[1]. 8. contra, *om.* B, B[1], C. exprobracionem, *sed int. lin.* correpcionem, B. expropriacionem, *sed al. man. in marg.* exprobracionem, B[1]. 10. frivola, *pro* fructuosa, B, B[1], C. 15. sunt, *sed al. man. in marg.* fuerunt, B. firōt (=firmant), B[1]. 25. fidem vel Christum *corr. al. man. in* deum, B. deum, B[1], C. 26. deum, *pro* Xtum, B.

autoritas sit infinitum prestancior quam consuetudo eorum, quis fidelis non crederet autoritati domini eorum consuetudine pretermissa. Cum ex fide capimus quod nullus sanctorum quantacunque sanctitate prepolleat est in dicto vel consuetu-

Conformity to Whose life is the standard of holiness. Christ's witness is thus decisive against endowments.

dine credendus, nisi de quanto illud consonat cum Christo qui est prima veritas. Et per consequens, habita a Christo vivaciori evidencia ad credendum contrarium, istud est ex illa forciori evidencia dimittendum. Et sic posset esse non stulta presumpcio sed veritatis instigacio quod ista sentencia

And these, under the guise of charity, have been increasingly mischievous.

nunc taliter est temptata: quia ista dotacio sicut in principio sonuit in peccatum, sic continue plus et plus * a B.152a. religione domini declinavit. Et error imprimis insensibilis, ymmo qui videbatur esse elemosyna, ex cremento malicie jam

Some men piously ask belief not because of their own erring wisdom, but because they declare Christ's law.

patule est perceptus. Ideo ad reprimendum presumpcionem superbam homines pie rogant quod non credatur ipsis in isto quia ipsi vel mendaces hoc asserunt, sed quia est lex domini jhu Christi, et ut dicit Augustinus 'Si Christus hoc asserit

And their self-denial gives weight to their condemnation of endowments.

ve illi qui non credit.' Et ut advocacio ista pro lege Christi B.5c. sit clarior, homines promulgantes istam sentenciam non querunt lucrum mundanum nec humanam amiciciam set contrarium paciuntur. Et sic amor dei et legis sue, cum honore suo rependendo, preponderari debet a fidelibus in 102b.

In these matters Faith and Opinion must be distinguished.

hoc actu; et principium in isto puncto et aliis debet esse fidelibus quod discrete distinguant inter fidem et opinionem, sic quod nichil accipiant tanquam fidem nisi ex lege veritatis doctum fuerit. Ideo canonizaciones et quecunque operaciones papales, consuetudines vel asserciones sanctorum dant

That all saints have sinned is of faith.

opinionem illis in quibus est evidencia cum fide. Ut fides est quod petrus et paulus cum ceteris sanctis multociens graviter peccaverunt, et opinio est quod posteriores canonizati

That the saints of papal creation are holy is of opinion.

a romano pontifici erant sancti, licet ad sanctitatem eorum

3. cum autem, B, C. 13. incremento, B. 16. hec, B, B[1], C. 17. hec, B, B[1], C. 20. humanum, *pro* mundanum, B[1], C. vel, *pro* nec, B, B[1], C. mundanam, *pro* humanam, B[1], C. 22. sibi, *pro* suo, B. impendendo, B[1]. 25. veritate, *pro* lege veritatis, B, B[1], C. 28. citra fidem, *pro* cum fide, B, B[1], C.

quos scriptura sacra canonizat non in proporcione que deo placet attigerant. Et sic non est major evidencia, si isti sancti canonizati a romana ecclesia istam consuetudinem habuerunt, ergo non in hoc contra Christum et suam ecclesiam peccaverunt, quam sequitur, si petrus et paulus contra dominum blasfemarunt, ergo non in hoc contra Christum aut suam ecclesiam peccaverunt. Videamus ergo quid dicit infallibilis racio vel lex dei et illud tanquam fidem vel infallibilem in animum imprimamus. Turpe quidem est sentenciam et veritatem tanquam fide in animo stabilire et fidem fundatam in scriptura dimittere.

To hold these last sinless as to endowments is to hold Peter sinless in denying Christ.

It is shameful to uphold vain opinion, and set aside the faith founded in the scriptures.

CAPITULUM 11m.

Veritas. * Lapsus autem a fide, et specialiter quia capitur probabile tanquam fides, facit errores innumerabiles in ecclesia militante. Qui autem credit ut fidem communitati vel populo est in januis ut stolide seducatur, quia * ecclesiaste * p° scribitur, *stultorum infinitus est numerus*. Et sapiens daniel cum populus dampnasset Susannam ex falso testimonio sacerdotum, si generaliter multitudo testium approbetur, cujus contrarium * patet daniel ult°, et helias foret per quadringentos sacerdotes baal in causa domini superatus, cujus contrarium patet 3 Reg. 18°. Ideo prudentes habent hanc consuetudinem quando difficultas circa veritatem aliquam ventilatur. In primis considerant quid fides scripture loquitur in hoc puncto et quicquid hec fides in illa materia diffinierit credunt stabiliter tanquam fidem. Si autem fides Scripture neutram partem ejus expresserit, dimittunt illud tanquam eis impertinens, et non litigant vel contendunt que pars habeat veritatem. Et ista est magna prudencia sapientium. Ideo est stulta evidencia

C. 6 b.
Eccl. i. 15.
B. 5 d.

B¹. 152 b.
Bel and the Dragon.
1 Kings xviii.

The scriptures show the folly of taking the popular voice as authoritative.

In a difficulty wise men first ask what scripture says.

If it is silent they dismiss the question.

6. deum, *sed int. lin.* Christum, B. deum, B¹. Christum, C. 10. et veritatem, *sed al. man.* inanem, B. inanem, B¹, C. fidem, B, B¹, C. 13. autem, *om.* B, B¹, C. 29. Et ergo, *sed al. man.* ideo, B. Et ideo, B¹.

The majority is generally wrong.

si major pars militantum sic asserit, ergo verum, cum sit argumentum topicum ad contrarium concludendum, quia deus scit si nunc militant plures filii patris mendacii quam filii veritatis. Et quantum ad imposicionem heresis, fideles armarent se humiliter cum factis domini; ipsi enim imposita

As for the outcry of heresy Christ was accused of this.

est sepe heresis, quia blasfemia, et persecutus fuit tanquam hereticus lapidandus, ut patet jo 8°. Et causa potissima quam false finxerant in dampnando Christum fuit falsa imposicio heresis: jo 19° scribitur *nos legem habemus* * *et secundum*

John viii. 59. John xix. 7. 108.

People now take the pope's decision as authoritative.

legem debet mori. Sic enim possent hodie populi papam colere tanquam Christum sic quod si quicquid diffinierit in causa terrena sive celesti illud defendant et sustineant tanquam

And if two popes are elected some hold one election, others the other, as divine.

legem. Et si duo pape ex seminacione sathane electi fuerint, populi diversi elecciones illas approbant tanquam * fidem. Et ex tali scismate oriri possent inconveniencia infinita. Que, rogo, major infidelitas quam approbare elecciones cardinalium

B. 6 a.

The cardinals may be devils incarnate, yet whoever they elect is Christ's vicar!

qui ex nobis dubio sunt diaboli incarnati, quod si elegerint qualemcunque personam in papam, tunc ipse est pater sanctissimus et immediatus Christi vicarius. Hec autem heresis, loco sortis apostolorum qua eligerunt Mathiam per

The substitution of election by cardinals for the lot is the devil's device.

diabolum introducta, potest esse zizania ad catholicos in fide discordandum. Medicina ergo foret catholicum tales elecciones cum non sint apostolice refutare, et operibus persone viantis credere, et omnino dubium vel non fidem tanquam fidem catholicam refutare. Et sic concordet fidelis cum lege domini, et armet se cum paciencia et caritate, et ponat humiliter in manu domini vitam suam, quia discenciones originate ex divisionibus sectarum parturiunt istis periculosis temporibus multa mala.

1. militancium, B, B[1], C. 3. pulcrius *corr. ex* plures, B. pulcrius, C. 5. fideliter, *pro* humiliter, B, B[1], C. 9. Nam Jo. B[1]. 10. hodie possent, *ord. inv.* B, B[1], C. 11. quicquam, B, B[1], C. 16. ergo, *pro* rogo, B, B[1], C. 20. Mathiam, *om.* B, C. 21. Katholica *al. man. in marg. add.* B. Katholica *add.* C. 23. et operibus . . . refutare, *om.* B, B[1], C. 26. ponet, B, B[1], C

CAPITULUM 12m.

Mend. objects: To accept scripture proof only would destroy belief in papal bulls and decisions. And in indulgences, etc. As questions of oaths or paternity could not be so settled contracts and wills would be void.

MENDACIUM. * Video quod implicas multa inconveniencia in deliramentis stolidis que effaris; quia si in tali materia 7 a. solum debet fidelis * credere scripture sacre non crederet bullis papalibus vel diffinicioni curie romane, et sic omnis fides adhibenda sociis fidelibus conversantibus deperiret et multo magis non crederetur indulgenciis, literis episcopalibus vel literis fraternitatum de suffragio spiritali. Sed quis vivens vitam communem hominum non tunc de sua beatitudine desperaret. Ymmo contractus humani qui fiunt communiter juramentis et testificacionibus deperirent, et quod plus est 152 c. hereditates secundum leges humanas, * cum nemo crederet quod juvenis habuit talem patrem. Sed hoc nimis perturbaret rempublicam et legem politicam.

Ver. answers: This fails to distinguish credence in matters of opinion from faith in revelation.

VERITAS. * Video quod a patre mendacii didicisti 6 b. distincciones et equivocaciones * subterfugere, et inconveniencia saltem tibi apparencia concludere videaris. Est autem credere equivocum ad cum hesitacione date sentencie adherere, vel sine hesitacione, opiniative tamen, adherere date sentencie, vel 3° adherere sentencia tanquam fidei que dicatur a veritate prima cum tamen aliunde non humanitus demonstretur. Et sic supponimus in toto isto colloquio credere fide sumi, non autem loquimur tam laxe in proposito sicut boicius, quod quecunque opinio quam quis habuerit sit sibi fides; sed loquimur de fide catholica, quoniam necesse est opinionem transcendere, cum facit certitudinem infallibilem, pro qua fidelis debet mortis periculo exponere

3. affaris, B, B¹, C. 4. fides *corr. ex* fidelis, B. fides, C. 8. spiritali *corr. ex* spirituali, B. speciali, *sed al. man. in marg.* spiritali, B¹. spirituali, C. 13. cuius illa hereditas extiterat, *add. post* patrem, B, C, *sed* B, *al. man. in marg.* cuius illa hereditas existeret, *add.* B¹. 18. aliud, *pro* ad, C. 19. opinative, B, B¹, C. tantum *al. man. corr. ex* tamen, B. tantum, B¹, C. 20. sibi, *pro* sentencia, B, B¹, C. 22. demonstraretur, B, B¹, C. supponamus, C. 23. fidem, B, B¹, C. enim, *pro* autem, B, B¹, C. 24. loquitur, *add.* B, B¹, C, *sed* B, *al. man.* quam, *pro* quoniam, B, B¹, C.

vitam suam. Et sic opinative potest homo credere bullis papalibus; et specialiter si super illas rei experiencia addat opinionem; quia ille per se non faciunt * fidem et multis 103 b. hominibus parvam aut nullam credulitatem, cum tam papa quam sua curia falli poterunt et fallere propter lucrum et ignoranciam veritatis. Et sic dictum est communiter quod ad quesita sive proposita est quadruplex responcio adaptanda.

Propositions may be (i) granted as matters of faith transcending opinion,

Quedam enim sunt simpliciter supra opiniones hominum concedenda ut veritates fidei, veritates sensibiles, et veritates doctrinales ex certis principiis demonstrate.

(ii) similarly denied,

In secundo vero gradu sunt alique neganda simpliciter ut falsitates opposite veritatibus supradictis.

(iii) doubted,

3° vero sunt alique dubitanda ut verba hominibus proposita que propter evidencias contrarias nec sciunt simpliciter esse vera nec sciunt simpliciter esse falsa.

(iv) taken as true, but not certainly so.

In 4° vero gradu sunt alique supponenda ut opinabilia citra vera primi modi, de quibus homo non est certus fide vel * de- B. 6 c. monstracione vel eorum oppositis, licet non habeat evidenciam ad contrariam opinandum; ut habita experiencia de conversacione sacerdotis qui vivit catholice, supponi potest ab experiente quod sit membrum ecclesie, et tamen non debet credi * ab aliquo tamquam fides, quia nescitur si sit C. 7 b. predestinatus aut prescitus ad tartarum propter lapsum.

There are other moods beside assent, denial, and doubt.

As, e.g. of one's own salvation, hope.

Ideo debemus catholice relinquere famosum puerile principium quod omnis proposicio proposita sit concedenda, neganda, vel dubitanda. Cum proposicio mihi si salvabor nec concedo nec nego nec dubito, sed spero. Et de aliis hominibus nullum istorum habeo sed suppono secundum evidenciam quam habeo citra fidem. Et patet quod expertus de curie romane malicia potest loqui cum prudencia contra illam,

2. illis, B, B¹, C. 5. poterint *corr. ex* potuerunt, B. poterint, B¹, C. 7. ad, *post* sive, *add.* B, C, *sed* B, *al. man.* 8. supra op. hom., *om.* B, B¹, C. 11. aliqua, B. 12. modo, *pro* vero, B, B¹, C. aliqua, B, B¹, C. 14. sciuntur, B, C. sciuntur, B, C. 15. aliqua, B, B¹, C. 19. quod, *pro* qui, B, B¹, C. 20. dicitur, *pro* debet, B, B¹, C. 21. an, *pro* si, B¹. 25. proposito, *pro* proposicio, B, B¹, C. 27. spero *corr. al. man. ex* suppono, B. spero, B¹, C.

licet non loquatur contra Christum et suam ecclesiam; quia non est fides quod illa curia sit militans ecclesia, licet quandoque acciderit quod fuit ecclesia hic in via.

CAPITULUM 13m.

1. 152 D. VERITAS. * Ex istis dictis est medium inductivum ad respondendum ad alia que postmodum sunt illata. Non enim debemus accipere bullas papales vel generaliter dicta illius curie tanquam fidem; cum sunt viatores peccabiles et non generaliter inspirati, et ocularis experiencia docet quod sepe sunt decepti et contra veritatis regulam sepe errant. Et sic debemus ex sufficienti evidencia credere sociis cum quibus communiter conversamur, sed non habemus ex fide credere omni spiritui quem audimus, nec indulgenciis debemus credere,
. 6 d. sicut nec papa vel sua curia, cum nescit * si illa persona cui concedit dictam indulgenciam sit dampnanda, sicut nec scit si sit voluntatis dei concedere quod ipse annuit sic in bullis. Ideo non relucet magna discrecio vel sapiencia in hiis indulgenciis, specialiter si non fundantur in factis Christi vel verbis, nec in alicujus pape sapiencia antequam satanas est solutus; que
4. ergo evidencia movet hos satrapas sic voluntati domini * adversari? Aut que cupiditas urgeret istum prelatum sic scribere et sigillare sibi ambiguum, ubi verisimile est quod sit mendacium presumptivum? Ideo est multis evidens quod ista presumpcio sit peccatum; quia pari evidencia posset filium dei predestinatum dampnare ad tartarum. Ideo dicunt quidam viantes quod propter tale judicium temerarium nec magis nec minus, sed propter meritum vel demeritum quo ad deum. Et de multis literis episcopalibus concedentibus 40 dies venie est idem probabiliter senciendum. Et quantum

Thus papal bulls are not to be received as of faith.

Nor are indulgences to be believed in.

In these the bishops ignorantly set themselves against God.

As much as if they consigned a child of God to perdition.

So with episcopal letters.

3. vita, B, C. via, *sed al. man. in marg.* vita, B¹. 5. ad respondendum, *om.* B, B¹, C. 6. ea, *pro* alia, B, B¹, C. 9. a domino, *ante* inspirati, *add.* B, C, *sed* B, *al. man.* 12. debemus, *pro* habemus, C. 19. sapiencia, *pro* evidencia, B¹. 20. moveret, B, B¹, C. 26. viatores, B, B¹, C. 29. Et, *om.* B, B¹, C.

And with letters of fraternity.

ad literas fraternitatum, cum certum videtur quod ipsimet nesciunt si sint globus reprobus prescitorum, quid ergo valet illis vendere suffragiorum suorum participium? cum nesciunt si aliqua merita illis remaneant ad beatitudinem consequendam. Nec ex istis infertur quod aliquis de militante ecclesia desperaret; sed quod non confideret in istis apocrifis et incertis; ymmo quod totam spem suam in gracia Christi colligeret.

All our hope should be in Christ.

* Et ad percipiendum fructum illius spei in bono meriti C. 8a. secundum doctrinam legis domini laboraret. Et istud evacuaret * desperacionem finalem multorum qui in istis suf- B. 7a. fragiis sunt decepti. Et quantum ad contractus humanos vel civilia commercia patet quod fiunt communiter cum peccato, quia cum juramentis et testificacionibus illicitis. Ideo donate viro apostolico injuriam qui propter periculum hoc evitat.

As to contracts, they are usually accompanied by sinful oaths.

Et quantum ad hereditates descendentes ex datis patribus, sacerdotes non debent circa talia esse soliciti; sicut nulli debent presumere imponere dato heredi quod non descendit ab istis parentibus, nisi a spiritu sancto motus fuerit descensum hujusmodi impugnare. Et sic bene concluditur quod multa sunt vera in actibus humanis tam presentibus quam preteritis circa que viatores non debent esse soliciti. Ideo magis foret prudencia hominem renuere sibi neutrum aut impertinens sue beatitudini, in quo * devio tam speculative B¹. 153a quam practice multi peccant; ut patet de arte obligacionis et contencionibus circa temporalia hereditarie et temporaliter possidenda.

As to inheritances, paternity should not be disputed except at God's will.

And about these things it would be better to care less.

CAPITULUM 14m.

Mend. objects:

MENDACIUM. Iterum manifeste innuis non esse ut fidem

7. dei, *pro* Xti, B, B¹, C. 8. concipiendum, *pro* percipiendum, B, B¹, C. istius, *pro* illius, B, B¹, C. 14. hec, *pro* hoc, B, B¹. 15. patrum *corr. ex* patribus, B, B¹. patrum, C. 22. magna, *pro* magis, B, B¹, C. 23. speculativi, B, B¹, C. 24. practici, B, B¹, C. multum, *pro* multi, B, B¹, C. 25. contencionis, B, B¹, C.

credendum illos esse sanctos qui in missis, in letaniis, et aliis ecclesie serviciis inseruntur; ad quid ergo diceremus de illis nisi crederemus quod in patria sunt beati? cum spes meriti super fide stabili in credentibus est fundanda.

You thus deny that the sanctity of saints to whom we address prayers is of faith.

VERITAS. * Hic dictum est sepius quod de sanctis quos canonizat ecclesia supponimus, sed non ut fidem credimus, quod sunt beati in patria. Undecim tamen apostolos cum paulo, magdalene et ceteris quos fides scripture implicat esse 7 b. sanctos, credendum est ut fidem esse beatos, * et alios, quan- 4 b. tumcunque magna sanctitate in celis prepolleant, * credimus esse in beatitudine, verumtamen citra fidem. Et ideo ordinavit ecclesia quod quecumque oracio porrecta ad sanctum ad deum principaliter dirigatur. Et sic quelibet talis oracio implicat tacite condicionem, si et quatenus placet deo per talis sancti meritum nobis miseris suffragari. Et ut videtur multis nulla oracio porrecta specialiter sancto Christi est laudabilis, nisi de quanto acuit devocionem in Christum, sic quod si omnes intenciones et oraciones uniri possent in Christum, sincerius directe unite in Christum, esset utilius Christiano omnes oraciones specialiter Christo porrigere. Nec valet false credere quod Christus propter celsitudinem sui dominii non potest a nobis miseris faciliter exorari; ideo est necessarium habere alias personas mediantes; Christus enim assistens pontifex immediate illabitur viatori et cum hoc immediate conjungitur deitati. Ideo nullus sanctus est misericordius aut facilius auditivus miseri quam est Christus. Nec valent oraciones aliorum sanctorum, nisi de quanto 8 b. Christus prius ex sua gracia has acceptat. * Ideo dicunt quidam quod porrecciones oracionum ad istos sanctos sepe

Ver. answers: We do not hold as of faith the sanctity of any but Scripture saints.

Prayers are addressed mediately to saints, ultimately to God.

And are only good, if at all, in so far as they quicken devotion to Christ.

Who is more ready to hear than any saint.

Prayers to saints are often harmful.

1. in, *ante* letaniis, *om.* B[1], C. 2. horarum officia, *post* diceremus, *add.* B, C, *sed* B, *al. man. in marg.* 8. Magdalena, B, C. 9. quacunque *corr. ex* quantumcunque, B. quaeunque, C. 14. et si, *ord. inv.* B, B[1], C. placeat, B, B[1], C. 19. *sup.* Xtum *al. man.* scilicet sanctum, B; ipsum *corr. ex* Xtum, B[1]; ipsum, *et int. lin. al. man.* sanctum, C. est, *pro* esset, B[1], C. 20. ad Christum, *pro* Xto, B, B[1], C. 23. pers. al., *ord. inv.* B, B[1], C. 25. sanctus, *om.* B, B[1], C. 26. aut audacius, *pro* auditivus, B, B[1], C. misereri, B, C. miserere, B[1]. 28. de, *pro* ex, B, B[1], C.

sunt superflue vel nocive. Conceditur ergo quod non est articulus fidei appropriare cuilibet sancto de quo dicimus specialem articulum fidei sed beatitudinem illorum supponimus secundum majorem evidenciam vel minorem. Unde absit quod omnes legende sanctorum in ecclesiam introducte sint fides catholica, cum in festo corporis Christi de sancto sanctorum scribitur quod accidencia sunt in eucaristia sine subjecto, quod non fuit fides tempore augustini. Ideo dicit in de sermone * Domini in monte quod multa vera, licet in legendis talibus inserantur non sunt fides catholica; sicut exemplificat de ministro convivii cujus unum brachium a cane rapido est abstractum. Sufficit ergo ad tales oraciones secundarias habere probabilem supposicionem, et de Christo qui fundamentaliter oratur habere cum aliis virtutibus firmam fidem; et patet solucio. In ista tamen materia dicunt scolastici quod aliqua est fides explicita vel expressa et aliqua est fides implicita sive tacita. Fidem autem implicitam * dicunt esse quamcunque veritatem juxta illud apostoli prima cor. 13° Caritas omnia credit, et tamen infinite sunt veritates de quibus non oportet nos hic habere fidem explicitam; cum sufficit fideli quod credat quamcunque veritatem secundum gradum et formam qua deus vult ipsum hanc credere. Ut carnis resurreccionis est articulus fidei cuilibet Christiano, et tamen non oportet de qualibet persona hominis habere expressum articulum fidei quod resurget. Sed deus vult quod per istam fidem generalem sua militans ecclesia excusetur. Non enim vult quod sua ecclesia cum veritatibus * inutiliter oneretur. 105.
Communis autem carnis resurreccio erit tempore sempiterno adhuc futura, et postmodum tempore suo presens; sed post diem judicii est elapsa.

[Margin notes: The sanctity of saints is to be believed or not according to the evidence. Their legends are not of faith. — Just as the existence of accidents without a substance in the Eucharist is a doctrinal accretion. — So are many of these legends. — It is enough to believe tentatively in prayers to saints, absolutely in Christ. — Explicit (or specific) differs from implicit (or indefinite) faith. — We must believe in the resurrection of the body, but not separately in that of this or that man's body.]

[Right margin: In primo nocturno Lectio I — B. 7 c. — Aug. De Serm. Dom. in Monte i. 65. — B[1]. 153 b — 1 Cor. xiii 7.]

1. sunt, *om.* B, B[1], C. nocive fiunt, B, B[1], C. 2. appropriate, B, B[1], C. oras dicimus, B, B[1], C. 3. adaptare quod in patria sit beatus, *post* fidei, *add.* B, B[1], C. 6. facto, *pro* festo, B, C. 12. rabido, *pro* rapido, B, B[1], C. enim, *pro* ergo, B, B[1]. raciones *corr. ex* oraciones, B, B[1]. 13. contrarias, *pro* secundarias, B[1], C. 18. esse, *om.* B, B[1], C. 23. resurreccionem et alios, articulos, B, B[1]. 28. est in, *pro* erit, B, B[1], C.

CAPITULUM 15^{m}.

Mend. objects: The sanctity of the saints is held by the Church and confirmed by miracles.

MENDACIUM. Adhuc tota multitudo ecclesie militat contra tuam sentenciam, cum ecclesia acceptat curiam romanam, sanctos episcopos et abbates, ex sanctitate vite preterite, in sanctitate et oracionis efficacia sacerdotes vulgares et populum excellentes, et hoc idem confirmant miracula adhuc
7 d. recencia et miracula in cronicis satis publicis * memorata. Quis ergo crederit tue sentencie nisi qui non habet fidem quod deus peccatum suum preteritum quandocunque confessum fuerit non delebit.

We may as well lack faith in this as in God's forgiveness.

Ver. answers: This is the fallacy of accident.

VERITAS. Percipio quod calliditatem ut innatam habeas quod falsitatem reseres prope verum, ut ex cautela diaboli commisceas facilius falsitatem, sic enim diabolus maliciose temptando evam cur deus proibuit datum fructum, percipiendo quod eva per adverbium 'forte' in fide domini trepi-
9 a. davit, statim miscebat mendacium 'nequaquam,' inquit, 'moriemini.' Supponit autem catholicus citra fidem quod multi pape, episcopi et abbates ex gracia Christi et contricione sua finali sunt in celestibus nunc beati. Sed numquid ista opinio citra fidem justificat nunc papas, episcopos et abbates qui a lege domini hodie plus declinant? Constat quod si petrus, stephanus et magdalene ex fide scripture nunc in celestibus sunt beati, non propterea quilibet de pura secta Christi, sive vir sive femina, esse in vita approbata a domino est censendus. Ergo homines de quibus est vulgaris opinio, licet [vi]dentur esse beati a domino non faciunt evidenciam quod illi de secta sua hodie sunt beati; cum sancti ex fide scripture

The sanctity of saints cannot justify the laxity of popes.

7. publice, B[1]. 9. quantumcunque, B, B[1], C. 12. veritatem, *pro* falsitatem, B, B[1], C. 14. dixit, *post* evam, *add.* B, B[1], C. deus, *pro* dominus, B, C. ne comederetis, *post* fructum, *add.* B, B[1], C. 15. addicionem adverbii, B, B[1]. 19. notandum quod, *pro* numquid, B, B[1], C. 22. sanctus Petrus, B. Petrus sanctus (Stephanus *om.*), B, C. Magdalena, B, B[1], C. 23. pura, *sed al. man. in marg. corr. in* privata, B. privata, B[1], C. 24. Christi, *om.* B, B[1], C. 25. Homines ergo, *ord. inv.* B, B[1], C. 26. videntur, *pro* dentur, B, B[1]. viderentur, C.

If saints are in heaven, it is not because they took endowments.

Nor are they to be followed in their sins.

But the lives of saints do not really sanction endowments.

docti esse modo beato non faciunt quod homines de pura secta Christi, sicut ipsi fuerant, sint nunc sancti. Verum quidem est quod isti tres modi hominum si modo, sicut probabiliter creditur, sunt beati, non propter talem dotacionem, nec propter hoc quod a pauperie et vita domini declinarunt, sed propter hoc quod, defective tenentes pauperiem et legem Christi, fructuose finaliter penitebant. Que ergo evidencia quod isti tres * prelati plus peccantes hodie observant ideo statum sanctum. Observemus * ergo solam vitam Christi pro regula infallibili, vel vitam aliorum de quanto secuti fuerint dominum jhm Christum. Ut licet petrus ihm secutus fuerat non tamen propterea debemus Christum negare et menciendo anatematizare et jurare quod Christum non novimus, licet in evangelio legimus petrum apostolum sic fecisse. Sequamur ergo papas episcopos et abbates de quanto ipsi secuti fuerant dominum jhm Christum. Et ad istum sensum dicit ciprianus 8 a d, c o [decimo], si solus Christus, quod solum debemus de apostolis vel sanctis aliis audire dominum jhm Christum. Christus enim in ipsis loquitur quando dicunt veritatem catholicam; et precise de tanto christianos alios audiamus. Doce ergo * si sciveris quod iste persone de tanto sunt de ecclesia de quanto extollunt ad beatitudinem istum papam istos episcopos vel abbates. Sed constat mihi quod nec vel perfunctoria evidencia scis istud probare. Quomodo ergo non erubesceret infidelis, deserendo fundacionem in lege domini que non potest deficere, et preeligendo vitas peccatrices apocrifas, secundum illud in quo non docetur quod secuti fuerint dominum jhm Christum. Et specialiter dimittendo

B. 8 a.
B[1]. 153
Ciprian. Ad Cæcilium, § 14
105 b.

1. *pro verbis* esse modo beato . . . sint, *leg.* tunc (*om.* C) non modo sciverant si sunt, B, B[1], C. 8. triplices, *pro* tres, B, B[1], C. hoc, *pro* hodie, B, B[1], C. 9. status sanctus, B, C. 11. Petrus licet, *ord. inv.* B, B[1]. 15. ergo, *om.* B, B[1], C. 17. Ciprianus, ut patet 8 d (= distinctione) decimo capitulo, B, B[1], C. audiendus, *post* Xtus, *add.* B[1]. 20. precipue, *pro* precise, B, B[1], C. 22. illum, *pro* istum, B, B[1], C. 23. vel, *om.* B, B[1], C. 24. per fictoriam evidenciam, B. per fictas evidencias, C. 25. erubescit, B, B[1], C, *sed* B, *corr. ex* erubesceret.

illud perfectum in vitis eorum in quo secuti fuerant dominum
jhm Christum. Ut beatus possidonius narrat de Augustino
quando voluit cives iponenses illas possessiones quas sibi
dederant rehabere. Beatus jeronimus nullo modo voluit
possessiones tales accipere, nec extraclaustraliter vivere nec
clericorum predia approbare. Et sic de beatis benedicto,
9 b. gregorio et bernardo; pauca * temporalia in pauperie posside-
8 b. bant et tamen, * ut creditur, de illa possessione finaliter
penitebant.

As witness Augustine and Jerome.

Those who took endowments we believe repented of them.

CAPITULUM 16m.

VERITAS. * Si autem sanctitatem vite et securitatem ejus preponderas, qua fronte meretricia tantum acceptas vitam istorum prelatorum qui multociens et graviter peccaverunt, et dimittis vitam Christi infinitum sanctiorem, infinitum securiorem, plus facilem et communem. Nemo autem potest subterfugere quin sic faciens non mediocriter peccas et in diaboli volutabro te immergis. Et sic si obicis quod fingo istos sanctos de ista declinacione a lege domini finaliter penitere, doce tu quod sint sancti et docebo quod sic finaliter penituerant communiter. Evangelista quidem, qui fuit longe sanctior istis tribus, dicit quod si dixerimus quod peccatum non habemus, nos ipsos seducimus. Quomodo ergo non honorat istos sanctos qui imponit eis quod sic fructuose finaliter penitebant; cum patet luce clarius quod dimittentes hanc stratam regiam et eligentes viam ambiguam apostolis prioribus incognitam non mediocriter peccaverunt. Et sic non contendimus circa istud quod iste tres persone sunt in
153 d. sanctitate et oracionis efficacia sacerdotes vulgares * et popu-
lum excellentes; quia de istis tribus, de sacerdotibus vul-

Why take example from the lives of saints rather than of Christ?

If you prove that they are saints, I will prove that they repented taking endowments.

2. beato augustino, B, B[1], C. 3. quod, *pro* quando, B, B[1], C. 7. qui pauca, B, B[1], C. 14. in, *post* Xti, *add.* B, B[1]. securiorem, sanctiorem, *ord. inv.* (infinitum *om.*), B, C. 16. peccans, B. 19. consequenter, *post* docebo, *add.* C. 20. penitebant, B, B[1], C. consequenter, *pro* communiter, B, B[1], *om.* C. 22. nosmet, B, B[1]. 26. cum, *pro* et, B, B[1], C.

garibus et populo non habemus evidenciam quod sunt sancti. Et quantum ad oraciones et miracula patet quod sunt illusiones diaboli sompniate, cum pupplicatur hodie quod quilibet sacerdos consecrando eucharistiam facit infinita miracula et tanta quanta fecit dominus jhus Christus. Et secundum apostolum p ª cor. [1] 3 °. Si viator habuerit omnem fidem * ita ut montes transferat, caritatem autem non habuerit, nichil est. Multo magis ergo signa ostensa a deo sive diabolo in presencia corporis mortui non indicant quod sit sanctum. Ideo una de precipuis cautelis diaboli per quam seducit viantes * est decepcio in hiis signis. Credamus ergo vivis operibus conformiter legi dei et dimittamus hec signa frivola, cum magi pharaonis post moysem fecerant signa magna, ut patet Exodi 7° et 8°; et secundum veritatem evangelii presciti dicent in die judicii: *Domine nonne in nomine tuo prophetavimus et demonia ejecimus et virtutes multas fecimus,* ut patet M. 7°. Et Christus asserit M. 24° *pseudoChristi et pseudoprophete dabunt signa magna et prodigia.* Erubesce igitur de cetero esse de generacione adulterii, nisi docere sciveris quod hec signa mortua miraculose fiunt ab homine quem asseris esse sanctum. Cum prope diem judicii antichristus faciet multa signa. Et sic cogitares quomodo iste cronice sunt apocrifa preter fidem et a probabili multa falsa ad placendum satrapis sunt inserta. Idem ergo est legem Christo postponere et ista apocrifa anteferre, et antiquum * dierum relinquere et deos recentes infideliter acceptare. Et quantum ad fidem adhibendam de absolucione hominis a peccato, patet quod hoc debet sperare sed non credere tanquam fidem, licet fides condicionata in talibus sit adjuncta, scilicet quod si homo fructuose et finaliter peniteat, tunc est a cunctis suis peccatis que commiserat absolutus.

As for miracles they are illusions of the devil. Now-a-days it is said that priests in consecrating the Host do as great miracles as Christ. Miracles of themselves avail nothing.

Signs worked by God or the Devil before a dead body do not prove it to be a saint's.

Compare Pharaoh's magicians.

And the miracles to be worked by Antichrist.

The chronicles which record miracles are apocryphal and tampered with.

1 Cor. xi[ii] 2. — B. 8c — 106. — Exod. vi[i] viii. — Matt. vii 22. — Matt. x[xiv] 24. — [Matt. x 39.] — C. 10

6. 13, B, B[1], C. 12. vivis signis (*add.*), operibus, C. conformibus, B, B[1], C. 13. plus, *pro* post, B, B[1], C. 19. erubescas, B[1], C. ergo, *pro* igitur, B, B[1], C. 20. fuerant, *pro* fiunt, B, C. fuerint, B[1]. 25. veram legem, B, C. Christo, *om.* B, B[1], C.

CAPITULUM 17m.

Mend. objects:

MENDACIUM. * Videtur adhuc quod minaris tacite ruinam . 8 d. cleri, et per consequens more peccancium *-redarguis teipsum, et niteris, sed superflue, agere contra Christum qui est clericus clericorum. Cum enim ut fides capitur quod clerus sit suprema pars et perfectissima ecclesie militantis, et clerus per dotacionem hujusmodi augmentatur, manifestum videtur quod subtracta ista dotacione necesse est clerum, et per consequens perfectissimam partem ecclesie, minorari. Quis ergo presumeret sic agere contra celeste conjugium quod tenetur ex quarto mandato decalogi venerari?

Disendowment would lessen the number of the clergy.

Ver. answers:

VERITAS. * Licet diabolus et membra ejus multiplicaverunt mendacia contra Christicolas, ille tamen foret nimis neophitus qui propter talia mendacia dimitteret defendere veritatem, cum ¹. 154 a. petrus, johannes et alii * in verbis asperioribus persteterunt. Scimus quidem quod non sic loquimur propter amorem aut questum temporalium, sed propter zelum quo afficimur evangelice veritati. Quod si quandoque temptacione diaboli surrepit superbia condolemus. Intendimus ergo purgacionem et perfeccionem cleri, quam scimus non stare in multitudine personarum, sed in observancia status quem Christus instituit;)8 b. et sicut toto corpore hominis verso in oculos foret * indisposicius quam est modo, sic clero facto irregulari quoad statum domini, quamlibet augmentato, et in se imperficitur et nocet matri ecclesie militanti. Et patet quod assumptum est a patre mendacii mendicatum: volo enim totum clerum sicut et me ipsum stare in statu quem Christus instituit, quia scio ex fide quod Christus ex deleccione cleri taliter ordinavit. Scio insuper ex eadem fide quod Christus ordinavit clerum suum expertem dominii secularis. Et scio 3° quod, . 9 a. * licet clerus posset in temporalibus pati penuriam, hoc

The Clergy's perfection does not lie in numbers

I know of faith that Christ ordained his clergy to be unendowed, and without secular dominion.

22. sic, *pro* sicut, B, C. 23. est, *om.* B, C. clerus factus irregularis, B, C. 24. augmentatus, B, C. augmentato *corr. ex* augmentatus, B. 25. militantis, B, C.

And that poverty and obedience are better than wealth.

tamen est securius quam habere temporalium affluenciam; cum Christus ordinavit suos apostolos ita pati, et sic debeo niti pro profectu anime proprie et ad hoc sequi regulam domini jhu Christi. Et sic licet videar stultus in isto agens contra profectum proprium, scio tamen sapienciam dei ad hoc movere, et mihi credo ad perpetuam salutem proficere si in isto proposito perseverem. Et sic, diminuta multitudine

The Church needs to be purged of worldly clergy.

cleri cesarii et augmentata sua virtute, vel pocius conversa in clerum Christi, ecclesia foret ab apostematibus superfluis expurgata et partes ejus infirme secundum regulam et formam sanacionis voluntati domini conformate. Sed felix talis imitacio, cum ipocrite qui simulant sanctitatem sunt apostemata * magis superflua et matri ecclesie magis nocent. Cum C. 101

Whoever takes orders for worldly motives commits simony.

evidens sit multis racionibus quod capiens simulatorie statum cleri propter honorem mundanum, dignitatem secularem, vel corporis voluptatem, tanquam dei proditor symoniacus et hereticus in peccatorum voraginem se involvit. Et sic incipiendo a papa usque ad religiosum infimum sunt heretici spissim in ecclesia seminati. Et sic supponis mendaciter

Not every nominal priest is of Christ's clergy.

quod eo ipso quo quis quo ad seculum habuerit nomen cleri, est clericus de suprema parte ecclesie militantis, sed principes sacerdotum, pharisei et scarioth contradicunt. Et sicut olym isti de secta antichristi practizaverant contra Christum, sic * hodie sunt eorum semina derelicta que operantur B. 9 b. copiosius contra Christum. Isti enim sunt meretrices que adulterinis signis nituntur celeste conjugium deturpare.

CAPITULUM 18m.

Mend. objects:

MENDACIUM. Quomodo potes subterfugere quin moliaris destruere matrem nostram, quia nulli dubium isti prelati

1. sec. est, *ord. inv.* B, B[1], C. 2. deo, *pro* debeo, B, C. 3. inniti, B, B[1], C. 5. securius (*add.*), B, B[1], C. 11. salvacionis (*pro* sanacionis) Christi (*add.*), B, B[1], C. 19. hic, *pro* sic, B, B[1], C. 23. sorte, *pro* secta, B, B[1], C. 25. iste, B, B[1], C. 29. dubium quin, B. dubium quod, B[1], C.

majores cum suo dominio et confederacione magnorum de suo sanguine extinguunt multa peccata et hereses, faciunt elemosinas multas et magnas et tenent venerabilem domum et magnam familiam que regnis est ad fortitudinem et honorem. Quis ergo intenderet tales prelatos nobiles mendicare? Videtur quod hoc machinans intendit regnum destruere et laxare abenas hominibus ad peccandum.

Powerful prelates crush heresy, give alms, and show hospitality.

VERITAS. Scimus quod nostra intencio est catholica quia fides. Intendimus enim profectum trium parcium ecclesie secundum armoniam et formam quam dederat jhus Christus. Sed quis infidelis posset inficere hoc sanctum propositum? Christus enim fuit nobilissimus homo mundi et tamen postquam acceperat hunc statum cleri tam in se quam in suis

Ver. answers:

Yet Christ was poor.

07. cognatis * servavit ad regulam paupertatem humilitatem et dei obedienciam. Et fecit alios quos elegerat in apostolos, quorum quidam erant sui cognati virtute nobiles, istam regulam observare. Quomodo ergo non erubesceret quis gratis accipiens istum statum, et post acceptum degenerans

And suffered his kinsmen and apostles to be so.

B. 9 c. ab eodem, nam in hoc faceret se servum * diaboli et peccati. Et ista est servitus maxima, servitute seculi plus horrenda. Et sic magnates, nitentes cognatos suos in dignitatibus magnis preficere, propter honores mundanos et lucrum seculi in seipsis, primo degenerant a domino jhu Christo, quia videntur esse socii furum et fautores hereticorum; quod est

Magnates who advance their kin for their own honour are associates of thieves.

Matt. xx. 26. contra facta et verba domini, ut patet Mat. 20 de filiis zebedei. Conceditur ergo quod nobilitas generis in prelatis potest esse tam in ipsis quam ecclesia occasio multi boni, sicut et potest esse occasio multi mali, specialiter si virtutum nobilitas non jungatur. Ideo Christus prudens medicus eligendo suos

Nobility of race in prelates may bring good, but also evil.

3. universalem, *pro* venerabilem, C. 5. tenderet, B, B[1], C. 14. et humilitatem, B, C. ei, *pro* dei, B, B[1], C. obedientiam fecit. Ali (*corr. ex* alios) quos el. in ap. . . . virt. nob., qui (*corr. ex* et) istam reg. observarunt, B. obedientiam. Fecit aliter quos el. in ap. . . . virt. nob., qui istam reg. observarunt, B[1]. obedientiam. Fecit alios quos el. in ap. . . . virt. nob. qui istam reg. observarent, C. 20. esset, *pro* est, B, B[1], C. 24. soc. et faut. fur. et her., B. soc. faut. et fur. et her., B[1]. soc. faut. fur. et her., C. 27. in ecclesia, B, B[1], C. 29. mergatur, *pro* jungatur, B, B[1], C.

cognatos in apostolos ipsos a mundana superbia, * a vita C. 11 a. voluptuosa et avaricia coartavit, et istam regulam Christianis posteris reservavit, quia jo 13 dicit ipse: *Mandatum novum* John xiii 34. *do vobis ut diligatis invicem; sicut et ego dilexi vos ut et vos invicem diligatis.* Et patet quod operacio prelatorum hujusmodi, sicut et operacio luciferi, potest occasionaliter multa peccata extinguere; sicut et potest vocari elemosina et honor regnorum quod est bonorum pauperum spoliacio et flagicium contra simplices ecclesie militantis; et talis conversacio non foret honor regnorum sive utilitas, sed diaboli machinacio introducta. Sic ergo prelatorum divicie atque nobilitas possunt esse occasio tam prelatis quam aliis ad peccandum superbia, avaricia, atque gula, et possunt esse occasio ad tam sibi quam ecclesie promerendum: et nisi assint gracia et virtus primus effectus contigit communius quam secundus. Ideo videamus disposicionem * quam Christus adhibuit ad B. 9 d. consequendum graciam et virtutes; et vel oportet concedere quod Christus fuit fatuus, vel quod pauperies quam ipse disposuit plus disponit episcopos ad virtutes. Nec sequitur ex isto quod debeant mendicare ab homine, cum Christus, exemplar nostrum, tenebat se in medio et utrumque extremum tanquam culpabile reprobavit. Ideo ista evidencia est similis stulticie * cecorum qui baculum suum proiciunt ad astra B¹. 154 c ut ipsa in sua substancia stulte ledant. Et patet quod istud sentenciare non esset regnum destruere, nec dare hominibus licenciam ad peccandum. Nisi forte infidelis dicat cum sacerdotibus Christum accusantibus, quod ipse subvertit totum regnum judee et imperatoris imperium perturbavit. Ideo sic judicantes secundum faciem sunt communiter tam verbis quam opere infideles.

What is really robbery of the poor may be passed off as alms or patriotism.

Though prelates were poor they need not beg, any more than did Christ.

Such reforms would not injure the state.

11. sicut, *pro* sic, B, B¹, C. 13. et, *om.* B, B¹, C. 23. percuciunt, *pro* proiciunt, C. 25. est, *pro* esset, B, C.

CAPITULUM 19m.

Mend. objects: If endowments are bad and friars hide this from their rich penitents, this makes them traitors and heretics!

MENDACIUM. * Videtur quod innuitive accusas in isto omnes quatuor sectas cleri; sed quis auderet hoc curie romane imponere, et specialiter sectis fratrum, cum tunc regulando 107 b. * dominos, dominas atque regna forent proditores eorum et heretici ex consensu. Sed quis auderet sic accusare sapienciam hujus cleri? Si enim lex Christi in scriptura sacra sic diceret, verisimile est quod tot et tanti sancti de fratribus istud dominis, episcopis et abbatibus intimarent. Cum ergo in hoc tacent, ymmo impugnant istud tanquam hereticum, videtur quod nedum consenciunt, sed defendunt contrarium ut autores. Et si istud concernit salutem anime ac prosB. 10 a. peritatem regnorum, evidens videtur quod sic simi*lando vel asserendo forent heretici et proditores dei, hominum et regnorum.

Ver. answers: They must make their own defence.

VERITAS. * In ista materia respondendum est a sectis et partibus quas impugnas; ego enim nescio in isto romanam curiam excusare, nec fratres aut sectas alias, sed adhuc in fide vivo domini Jesu Christi quod ipse sic vivere docuit clerum suum. Verum tamen si per impossibile fuero doctus contrarium, volo veritati catholice humiliter consentire, et C. 11 b. omnino si doctus * fuero a papa vel superioribus ecclesie ut prelatis. Sed scio quod conversacio et factum eorum non est tenendum a catholicis tanquam fides cum ipsi possunt macula avaricie infici ut mundani. Cupiditas enim infecit primum apostatam, genus humanum et alios multos lapsos. Et quantum ad quatuor sectas fratrum, ipse etatem habent, pro se ipsis respondeant, quia in hoc ipsos nescio excusare, et specialiter cum eligunt ex autoritati Christi vitam exproprie-

Friars cannot be excused for choosing the unendowed life and

5. atque dominas, B, B[1], C. et, *pro* atque, B, B[1], C. 7. Christiani, *pro* Xti, B, B[1]. Christiana, C. in, *om.* B, B[1], C. 13. asimulando, B. asimilando, B[1], C. 21. humilime, B, C. 25. ut, *om.* B, B[1], C. mundani, *om.* B. Mundana, B[1], C. 29. sibi, *pro* Xti, B, B[1], C.

yet approving endowments.

tariam ut ceteris plus perfectam. Nec dubium quin in verbis et opere consenciunt dotacioni cleri, cum tam vecorditer in predicacionibus, in confessionibus et aliis communicacionibus tacent in isto dicere veritatem. Maledicta autem sit talis secta que ipsos necessitat ad falsum tam proditorie nutriendum. Ideo, ut quidam asserunt, fideles non communicarent cum illis, nec ave eis dicerent, antequam de isto cleri dominio palam proderint fidem suam. Si autem approbarent

If the secular power of the clergy is right, why are friars beggars?

istud cleri dominium, tunc forent stulti sine autoritate Christi taliter mendicantes, cum foret perfeccio eis habere * seculare B. 10 b. dominium quod a Christo fuit multipliciter approbatum, et nunquam taliter mendicare, et specialiter a viris * tam validis B¹. 154 c et tanto numero glomeratis, pro tantis edificiis construendis, et aliis sumptibus contra evangelium Christi fictis. Si autem

If wrong, their silence is hypocritical.

ex autoritate scripture reprobant istud cleri dominium et tam multipliciter tacent ipsum hominibus quibus ex consciencia pupplicarent, quis dubitat quin sunt vir duplex animo, inconstanter tenens cum falsitate quam credit superare ad tempus modicum ut arundo? Et cum factum plus docet quam verba videtur ex professione sui ordinis quod plus est credendum

But their life requires that it should be wrong, and this is most to be trusted.

suis operibus quod dominacio ista sit illicita, quam verbis suis duplicibus ad que pro temporali precio conducuntur. Nam plus est credendum medico de salubritate herbarum ab homine sicitato di*centi quod *a* herba est saluberrima et 108. *b* herba mortifera, si *a* herbam aufugeret ut venenum et *b* herbam avide gustaverit, tanquam prandium salutare; plus, inquam, credendum est tali operi quam hiis verbis. Et sic videtur de fratribus. Sed unum scio quod fides scripture

Purged of its unscriptural attributes their sect would be acceptable to God.

propter duplicitatem eorum non titubat. Sicut nec ordo eorum aliquam perfeccionem secte Christiane continet, nisi que ex evangelio est fundata; quod si essent usque ad illud a super-

4. illo, *pro* isto, B, B¹, C. 7. illo, *pro* isto, B, B¹, C. 8. prodiderint, C. 13. in, *pro* et, B, C. 15. reprobent, B, B¹, C. illud, *pro* istud, B, B¹, C. 17. constanter, *pro* inconstanter, B, B¹, C. 21. illa, *pro* ista, B, B¹, C. 24. febricitato, *pro* sicitato, B, B¹, C. 26. gustaret, B, B¹, C.

fluis expurgate, non remaneret eis nisi clara et meritoria secta Christi.

CAPITULUM 20m.

MENDACIUM. Adhuc innuis quod omnes canonici regulares, nigri et albi, et omnes religiosi post ipsos prudenter in ecclesiam introducti, ut fratres hospitales, monachi cartusienses, fratres boni homines, sanctimoniales et sororisse cum anacoritis et ceteris inclusis deficerent et puram sectam Christi de novo induerent. Sed que major heresis plus religionis ecclesie turbativa?

Mend. objects: You want all the orders to be dissolved and to make a new profession.

C. 12 a. VERITAS. In parte verum concludis quod omnes iste religiones private cessarent, et puram ac nudam religionem Christi libere ut prius induerent. Verumtamen non est aliqua privata religio nunc cum prudencia moderata, quin in pura religione Christi homines possent penalitatem ejus prudentis subire, spiritu domini instigante. Et hoc foret liberius et meritorius quam est istius religionis private perpetuacio, et tanquam religionis domini stulta concatenacio. Unde ista divisio a religione Christi divisionem in moribus attestatur, ut divisiones in thematibus fratrum et aliorum hodie predicantium, dimissa integritate vivacis sensus scripture et fabulis introductis, attestantur causaliter divisionem a caritate Christi sicut recessum a sua ordinacione; et sic fiunt omnes divisiones hujusmodi in peccatum. Nam omnes tales novitates rituum in nullo addunt ad meritum, cum omnia opera meritoria illorum, si sunt aliqua, possent esse sine tali cerimonia

B. 10 d. magis facilia, et plus deo placencia. Cui ergo * dubium quin

Ver. answers: All that is good in these sects would remain if they were in the pure sect of Christ. Separation from Christ's religion shows separation in morals. New-fangled rites in no way increase merit.

5. albi monachi, B, B¹, C. 11. concluditer, B, B¹, C. 14. nunc, *om.* B, C. non, B¹. cum, *om.* B¹. non moderata, B, C. 15. possunt, B, B¹. prudenter, B, B¹, C. 17. illa, *pro* istius, B, B¹, C. 18. Dum, *pro* Unde, B, B¹, C. 19. illa, *pro* ista, B, B¹, C. quidem, *pro* Xti, B, B¹, C. divisa, *pro* divisionem, B, B¹, C. 22. causare, *pro* causaliter, B, B¹, C. Christi, *om.* B, B¹, C. 23. quod sit, *pro* sicut, B, B¹, C.

But are of the devil's introduction.

And being without Christ's authority involve sin.

Only God may introduce perpetual customs.

But Christ ordained only one sect.

And this is distinguished (i) by its authority from Him.

a patre generacionis adultere sunt talia superflue introducta, quod pateret evidencius discurrendo particularius per istas 8° species et vicia per que occasione earum in criminibus tam latentibus * quam pupplicis involvuntur. Ideo manifestum B¹. 155 videtur quod hii qui sine autoritate domini hec autorizant, defendunt, vel eis consenciunt in gravi culpa contra dominum se involvunt. Ideo de isto peccato introducende consuetudinis sine autoritate domini, homines et specialiter majores in ecclesia peccaverunt. Nam videtur quod introducendo a proposito talem consuetudinem * tanquam perpetuam, homo 108 b. incidit in blasfemiam contra deum; quia deo est proprium autorizare talem consuetudinem perpetuam, quis ergo mortalis et momentaneus presumeret talem consuetudinem introducere supra vires? Fundamentum autem ad stabiliendum totam istam sententiam stat in isto, quod lex et ordinacio Christi est optima sine defectu possibili, quia ut patet jo 8° nemo John viii. 46. potest ipsum arguere de peccato. Cum ergo Christus ordinavit sectam unicam militantem et ipsam habere tres partes sine hiis novis ritibus, tanquam difficultans ac illibertans perpetuum introductis, manifestum videtur quod ordinacionem istam Christi in laxacione sue libertatis dimittere, et aliam novam sine autoritate admittere est peccatum grave et stulticia manifesta; specialiter cum Christus non innuit approbative quod talis consuetudo perpetua sit catholice admittenda. Quis, inquam, dubitat quin talem consuetudinem B. 11 a. malam admittere et consuetudinem bonam contempnere sit peccatum grave? Ordinacio autem Christi, sive pura sua religio, excellit omnes alias in hiis tribus; in autoritate, in facilitate, et in securitate. [In auctoritate] quia Christus C. 12 b. deus et homo * ex omnisciencia sua ipsam instituit. In

2. discuciendo (*pro* discurrendo) illa (*add.*), B, B¹, C. illas (*pro* istas) ergo (*add.*), B, B¹, C. 6. magnam culpam, *pro* in gravi culpa, B, B¹, C. 7. illo, *pro* isto, B, B¹, C. 19. ipsam (tanquam, B¹) difficultantibus ac illibertantibus, B, B¹, C, *sed* B, *primo ut in nostro codice.* 24. propterea, *pro* perpetua, B, B¹. 26. Christi, *post* bonam, *add.* B, B¹, C. dimittere, *pro* contempnere, B, B¹, C. 28. in, *ante* hiis, *om.* B, B¹, C. In auctoritate, quia, B, B¹, C. 30. sua, *om.* B, B¹, C.

(ii) by its freedom from useless symbols.

facilitate excellit quia eximit omnes ocupaciones frivolas sive superfluas circa signa, ideo, tota ocupacione circa noticiam istorum signorum superfluam expensa circa salubrem noticiam legis dei, posset Christianus currere compendiosius ad patriam quam nunc faciunt religiosi nostri, qui in istis ceremoniis retardantur. In securitate autem excedit hec religio Christi quia potest sine dispensacione hominis quantum racio exigit variare, et substantia illius regule, cum sit evangelium, non potest deficere. Et patet quod stulte, quia imprudenter, fuerunt iste secte in ecclesiam introducte. Et sic sentencia ista non est heresis sed doctrina catholica Christi ecclesie juvativa, licet sit synagoge sathane turbativa.

(iii) by the safety given by its free self-adaptability.

CAPITULUM 21m.

Mend. objects:

You would do away with all monks, and with prayers supported by perpetual alms.

MENDACIUM. In verbis tuis patenter implicas quod omnes abbatie de monachis tam nigris quam albis pure in sectam Christi debent converti, et sic nedum regula quam fecit papa gregorius sed suffragia spiritualia de perpetuis elemosinis deperirent. Sed utrumque brachium ecclesie, scilicet sacerdotum et dominorum secularium, istam stulticiam derideret.

Ver. answers:

Truth must prevail.

VERITAS. Fides et religio Christi est dicenda publice, quia si deus voluerit, licet non in temporibus nostris, tamen postmodum practizabitur, et error contrarius paulative evacu-
f. 155 b. abitur. * Et sic concedi debet quod tota congregacio istorum claustralium debet pure vivere vitam Christi, et dotaciones ac tradiciones adjectas libere dimittere. Christus enim in ascensu suo in celum non ordinavit apostolos suos sive discipulos sic vivere claustraliter; et tamen ex fide cognoscimus quod Christus scivit et potuit ordinasse, si ecclesie profecerit

2. contra, *pro* circa, B, C. totam occupacionem, B, C. 9. et, *pro* quia, B, B¹, C. 12. immitativa, *pro* juvativa, C. 19. cum spremento, *post* derideret, *add.* B, B¹, C. 23-24. quod . . . debet, *om.* B, B¹, C. 27. cum, *pro* tamen, B, B¹.

Had claustral life been good Christ had ordained it.

sue, apostolos suos ac eorum vicarios in claustris talibus taliter vegetasse, sed in fide evangelii * prius dixit: *Nemo* 109. *accendit lucernam et ponit eam sub modio sed super candelabrum ut qui ingrediuntur lumen videant.* Voluit ergo patris sapiencia ut persone splendentes in lumine gracie lucescerent patule ecclesie militanti, quia sic ordinat solem, lunam et astra cetera toti nostre habitabili elucere. Nec est virtus in claustris per diabolum introductis cum omnia illa

Its symbols are false or hampering.

signa sint falsa vel veritas signata per signa hujusmodi retardata. Discurrat igitur homo per signa hujusmodi et videat intencionem plus utilem ac virtutem, ex qua talis intencio oriatur, et videbit quod cum bono fraudulencia diaboli est commixta. Numquid credimus tales claustrales plus posse placere deo per talia saxa terrena de bonis pauperum superflue congregatis quam placuerunt patres tam novi quam veteris testamenti? Christus enim communiter mansit sub

Christ lived in the open air.

divo et templi edificium respuebat, et patriarche legis veteris ante templi edificium sub divo domino plus placebant. * Et C. 13 a.

Abbey buildings are a tie to earth.

quantum ad edificia que * claustro in abbaciis hujusmodi B. 11 c. sunt connexa, videtur quod sunt stimuli ad habitacionem in terris perpetuam affectandum, et fide[m] apostoli ad hebreos Heb. xi 13° *Non habemus hic manentem civitatem sed futuram in-* 14.

Heavenly influence descends more freely in the open air than in monasteries.

quirimus relinquendum. Sicut ergo sub divo influencia celestis liberius est recepta, sic religiosi oracio penetrat liberius celum sub divo quam venit ad aures domini in

The rule of the good Gregory must yield to the gospel.

hiis claustris. Et patet quod regula quam condebat bonus gregorius debet racionaliter cedere evangelio Jesu Christi, et errores de vocatis perpetuis et monstrosis elemosinis cessarent, sicut necesse est ipsos in die judicii vel citra

Christ did His work in the open air.

quando deo placuerit terminari. Et sic de vita Christi legimus quod ipse elegit facere facta sua sub divo, cum in

1. sive discipulos suos sic vivere, *post* suos, *add.* B, B¹, C. 6. ordinavit, B¹, C. 7. habitacioni, B, B¹, C. 8. cum autem, B, B¹, C. 15. congregata, B, C. agregata, B¹. 21. affectandam. vide apostolum, *pro* fide apostoli, B, B¹, C. 23. relinquendum, *om.* B, B¹, C. 26. beatus, *pro* bonus, B, B¹, C. 27. racionabiliter, B, C. totaliter, B¹.

dupplici convivio sub divo populum suum pavit, sub divo sepius predicavit, et sub divo pernoctando patrem suum pro ecclesia exoravit; ymmo exiendo jerusalem capcionem suam in orto sub divo non casualiter coaptavit, et corpus proprium in monte calvarie ex causa notabili, ut fideles oportet dicere, immolavit. Templa ergo et basilice sunt cum moderamine affectanda, et errores circa illa ac cultus indebite exaltati sunt catholice deserendi. Et sic respiciat fidelis prudenter in quo iste religiones private moderne religionem vel sectam domini antecellunt, et videbit quod totus excessus stat in
.155 c. affeccione sensibili ad terrena, que non * est ad patriam sed ad seculum allectiva. Et certum est ex fide quod ista evidencia est religionis domini turbativa; quia ex fide debemus
11 d. temporalia ista tam in * consideracione quam affeccione dimittere, et ad celestia aspirare, et sic sophisticaciones dia-
9 b. boli * in istis vocatis spiritualibus suffragiis nudarent. Et si utrumque brachium synagoge satane ad tempus contra istud remurmuret, tamen quando ecclesia carebit affeccione mundana ista fidei veritas elucescet.

The sects fall short of Christ's standard by their love of earthly things.

When these earthly affections vanish the truth will be known.

CAPITULUM 22m.

MENDACIUM. Adhuc video quod per infidelem ignoranciam es cecatus; non enim consideras quomodo ecclesia tam militancium quam dormiencium per oraciones claustralium et spiritualia suffragia fundata in perpetuis elemosinis est adjuta. Quis ergo nisi demoniacus istud ecclesie suffragium impediret?

Mend. objects:

The church, both of the living and the dead, is helped by prayers of monks.

VERITAS. Video quod in falaciis que mundanis complacent delectaris. Ideo, ne in materia hujus fidei sim cecatus, in fide vivo domini Jesu Christi. Unde licet supponi possit

Ver. answers:

1. suo convivio, B, B[1], C. 2. provocando, *pro* pernoctando, B, C. predicando, B[1]. 3. exeundo, B, B[1], C. 10. antecesserunt, *pro* antecellunt, B, B[1], C. 14. in affeccione, B, C. 16. nudarentur, B, B[1], C. 17. illud, *pro* istud, B, B[1], C. 28. credis quod, *pro* ne, B[1], C.

Monks' prayers cannot avail more than apostles', nor probably than those of any faithful worker still in the world.

Their higher efficacy is a delusion from the devil.

Yet in this belief men rob their heirs to fatten monks.

Whose red cheeks and fat lips are their highest claim to God's favour. A good life is the best prayer.

Merit should be left to God to distribute.

When a monk sells his prayers, neither buyer nor seller can appraise their value.

The bargain may be fraudulent and is certainly simoniacal.

quod claustrales priores per oracionum suffragia juverint duplicem ecclesiam hic in terris, non tamen tantum quantum * priores viri apostolici qui vixerant extra claustra; et ut C. 13 b quidam estimant non tantum quantum juverunt fideles laboratores cum claustralibus conviventes. Unde inter alias cataractas diaboli quas invenit ad faciendum ipocritas decipere seculares oracionis valencia est precipua, cum introduxit sub colore fidei quod oracio unius claustralis novi ordinis quem invenit excellit omnia temporalia hujus mundi, et sic movebat seculares tam dominos quam operarios et mercantes conferre claustralibus tam dotaciones quam bona mobilia, * ut exproprietarie sequentibus. Et per istam fal- B. 12 a laciam diaboli in mammona sic habundant. Nec videtur quod oracio istorum claustralium sit tam valida, nisi propter buccas tam rubeas et labia tam pinguia deus eos libencius ceteris sic exaudit; quia aliter, cum quelibet res dicit deo seipsam, fidelis operarius suis operibus deum melius et ecclesie utilius exoraret. Et quantum ad particionem meriti oracionis, certum est quod, tanquam nobis incognita, est appropriate domino tribuenda, et istam materiam studerent sacerdotes cum laicis in foro oracionum suarum civiliter commercantes. Nam mercator vendens pure temporalia suo proximo habet racionabiliter conscienciam, si valor venditi sit utrique incognitus, quia aliter ex sibi dubio in commercio proximum defraudaret; quomodo ergo claustralis vendens symoniace oracionum suarum suffragia propter lata predia non haberet conscienciam super isto quod neutra pars scit si ista suffragia valent aliquid, et per consequens nescit si temporalis dominus ipsum ditans * est * in tali commercio defraudatus, et per consequens commercans sic ambigue de tam spirituali suf- B[1]. 15 b fragio sibi incognito est symoniacus expressus vel insinuativus,

3. veri apostoli, B, B[1], C. 17. plus fundatis, *post* operibus, *add.* B, B[1]. fundatis plus, *add.* C. 18. *pro* particionem, *text.* percepcionem, *sed in marg.* perticionem, B[1]. 23. venditi, *add. post* rac., B. venditi, *add. ante* rac., B[1]. in venditi, *add. post* rac., C. vendendi, *pro* venditi, B, B[1], C. 31. symiatus, *pro* insinuativus, B[1].

et per consequens excommunicatus a Christo, qui talia commercia condempnavit? Quilibet enim debet scire quod precise tantum valet sibi vel alteri sua oracio quantum deus ipsam acceptaverit ad hunc finem. Sed quilibet orator hic in terris non est tantus dei conciliarius quod scit ad quantum deus oracionem suam acceptat; ergo non debet oracionem
[. 12 b.] suam sic vendere ta*cite vel expresse. Similiter nemo viancium scit si est predestinatus ad patriam vel prescitus, sed certum est si sit prescitus tunc est diabolus, et per consequens oracio sua quantum ad beatitudinem sibi vel alteri nichil valet. Qua ergo fronte vel consciencia venderet tam care sibi incognitum?

No man knows how far God accepts his prayers.

Or even if he is doomed to Heaven or Hell.

He may thus be selling devil's prayers.

Similiter sicut commercans ignorat valorem sui meriti, sic ignorat dignitatem persone ementis, si pro dato tempore fructu meriti venditi congaudebit. Cum ergo tenetur pro
[. 14 a.] die judicii vel in patria reddere bonum, sive defendere quod * vendebat, videtur quod solius dei est distribuere bona meriti sicut placet. Et istam fidem notarent ipocrite et mundi divites cum talibus meritis commercantes.

Even if the seller's prayers have merit he cannot tell they will avail the buyer.

God alone can assign the fruits of merit.

CAPITULUM 23m.

Mendacium. Videtur quod precipitanter in voraginem heresis te profundas; innuis enim quod non valet oracio pro vivis vel mortuis, eo quod secundum tuum antiquum errorem omnia que evenient est necessarium evenire. Sed quid est expressius contra fidem scripture? Cum Christus
[Matt. vi. -14.] Mt 6o docet Christianos orare; et quantum ad vindictam
[James v. 17.] vel penam oracione hominis impetrandam dicet jacobus ultimo capo: *Helias homo erat similis nobis passibilis, et oracione oravit ut non plueret super terram, et non pluit annis tribus et mensibus sex, et rursum oravit et celum dedit*

Mend. objects: You make prayer, for dead or living, of no effect, and revert to Fatalism.

Against the authority of Christ and S. James.

16. refundere *corr. al. man. ex* defendere, B. refundere, B[1], C.
17. distribuere *corr. ex* discernere, B, B[1].

pluviam et terra dedit fructum suum. Aliter enim subducta spe orandi hominis scriptura pro majori parte deficeret et viator regulariter desperaret.

Tempting men to despair.

Ver. answers:

VERITAS. Non erubescis inevidenter concludere blasfemiam dum consequencie * colorem aliquem nescias stabilire. B. 12 c. Concedo enim tibi quod omnia que evenient de necessitate evenient; ideo necesse est homines orare, et dignis oracionibus tam sibi quam aliis suffragari; et sic concedo quamlibet partem scripture et specialiter illud Mt 6o de oracione dominica et aliis sonantibus ad efficaciam deprecandi, ut dictum est de jacobo et similibus autoritatibus in scriptura. Verumtamen nunquam didicisti quod oracio hominis taliter debet vendi, nec quod viator magnificet suam oracionem, sed quod deus voluit oracionis nostre efficaciam esse nobis incognitam, ne cum oracione pompatice mercar*emur. Nam 110 b. ut fidem capimus quod de quanto quis (orans discrete pro aliquo) est plus dilectus a domino de tanto est oracio sua prestancior. Sed quis dubitat quin * omnis predestinatus B[1]. 156 a quasi infinitum plus diligitur a deo quam prescitus, cum deus eternaliter vult quod primus beatificetur et secundus perpetuo condempnetur. Ideo sicut amor dei quo viator diligitur est nobis incognitus, sic et valor sue oracionis. Erubescat igitur viator valorem sue oracionis super alios commendare. Et tamen in isto claustrales nimis decipiunt dominos divites et pauperes, suam oracionem et meritum stolide commendantes. Unde inventa est una subdola ficcio in qua stolidi amplius seducantur, scilicet quod sacerdotes, et specialiter claustrales virtute ordinis, etiam presciti, in virtute ecclesie suis oracionibus inenarrabiliter promerentur. Et ad

Men pray by the same necessity as they do other things.

But where have you learnt that they should pray for hire?

God hides from us the efficacy of our prayers to prevent such sales.

The efficacy of prayer varies as God's love to the suppliant.

And as the love is unknown, so is the efficacy.

A fiction has been invented that the prayer even of foredoomed priests and monks is of untold value, as being offered by the Church.

2. sepe oracione, *pro* spe orandi, B, B[1], C. 4. *pro* erubescis inevidenter, evidenter videris, B, C, *sed* videris *corr. ex* potes, B. evidenter potes, *sed in marg.* videris, B[1]. 6. autem, *pro* enim, B, B[1], C. 10. consonantibus, B, B[1], C, *sed al. man. in marg.* consolantibus, B[1]. 13. orator, *pro* viator, B, B[1], C. 16. fide, B[1], C. 19. in infinitum, B[1], C. domino, *pro* deo, B, B[1]. 20. perpetue, B, B[1], C. 23. ergo, *pro* igitur, B, B[1], C. supra, B, B[1], C. 24. Unde *corr. ex* et tamen, B. Unde, C. 25. suas oraciones, B, B[1], C.

C. 14 b. hoc sophisticantur evidencie patris mendacii. * Si autem ordo vel secta promovet sacerdotes ut eorum oracio plus a domino B. 12 d. sit * audita, secta Christi et ordo quem ipse imprimit, ut viator sit sacerdos in patria infinitum plus promovet quam secta sine Christi licencia introducta vel carectar sensibilis humano ingenio machinatus. Similiter omnes tales presciti, pape vel claustrales, sunt manifesti diaboli de ecclesia malignancium, quomodo ergo virtute ecclesie Christi quam inficiunt, suis oracionibus sic prodessent? Numquid credimus deus necessitatur per talia apostemata tanquam media infundere lumen gracie in vasa sua predestinata, in que, ut ex fide supponitur, est illapsus?

But if the prayers of any sect have special efficacy, it will be those of the 'sect of Christ.'

How can foredoomed popes or monks, members of the devil's church, have the virtue of Christ's Church for their prayers?

Similiter talis claustralis ex declinacione a lege domini est sibi valde ingratus, et ut sic indispositus ad orandum. Prov. xxviii. 9. Unde proverb 28° sic scribitur: *qui declinat aurem suam ne audiat legem, oracio ejus fiet execrabilis.* Similiter ut hic supponitur, justorum sunt omnia et specialiter pauperum spiritu, quantumcunque sint abhominabiles apud mundum: sed clerus dotatus defraudat hos pauperes de sua substancia; igitur propter istam injuriam necesse est deum oracionem illorum repellere, nisi quis blasfemet quod deo ingratus, propter hoc quod est mundo dicior sive excellencior, est pocius in precibus exauditus. Unde in confirmacione istius Ecclesiasticus xxxiv. 20. assumpte sentencie ecc^{ci} 34° scribitur: *qui offert sacrificium de substancia pauperum, quasi qui victimat filium in conspectu patris.* Prov. i. 28. Isaiah i. 11–15. Malachi i. 7, 8. Talia sunt multa testimonia in scriptura, ut prov p^{o}, ys. p^{o}, Malac p^{o}, cum aliis. Ex quibus motus fuit beatus gregorius dicere pro prelatis indignis: 'Cuncti liquido B. 13 a. 'novimus cum is qui displicet ad intercedendum * mittitur Greg. Reg. Past. Lib. i. cap. 10. 'irati animus proculdubio ad deterius provocatur,' ut patet in suo pastorali. Et in canone 3^{a} questio 7^{a} 'si quis in

God is deaf to the prayers of the disobedient.

And therefore to those of the clergy who disobey the law of poverty.

Their wealth will not win God's ear, but will bring them under the curse of those who offer to Him of what they have defrauded the poor.

5. caracter, B, B^{1}, C. 7. manifesti, *corr. ex* manifeste, B. manifeste, B^{1}. 13. talis, *om.* B, B^{1}, C. 21. sit gratus, *pro* ingratus, B, B^{1}, C. 23. confirmacionem, B. 24. sic scribitur, B, B^{1}. scribitur sic, C. 26. manifesta, *pro* multa, B^{1}, C, *sed al. man. in marg.* multa, B^{1}. 30. patet, *om.* B, C.

Augustine tells us that as the good man praises God by his every act, so the praises of the wicked turn to blasphemy.

'gravibus.' Unde augustinus alludens iste sentencie dicit quod observans debite mandata domini quicquid fecerit vel quicquid dixerit laudat deum. Et per consequens prevaricator e contrario nocet sibi et infert malum ecclesie militanti. 'Si' inquit 'vinolencia te ingurgites quantaslibet laudes reseret 'lingua * tua, vita tua blasfemat.' Propter talia multi esti- B¹. 11 mant quod plures oratores de hiis sectis 4^or sunt in capitulo 111. scarioth de quo ps^o 10° dicitur *fiat oracio ejus in peccatum*, Ps. ci et in capitulo eorum de quibus Malachie 2do dicitur *male-* Mal. i *dicam benediccionibus vestris*. Ideo a talis oracionibus libera nos domine.

God deliver us from prayers that bring a curse.

CAPITULUM 24^m.

Mend. objects:

MENDACIUM. Si ille qui se exaltat humiliabitur, videtur quod tam manifeste impugnans papam et inferiores prelatos ecclesie sit necessario * suprimendus, si enim illi caruerint C. 15 a seculari dominio, status et dignitas eorum corrueret. Sed quis tunc concederet indulgencias ac privilegia, consecraret episcopos et sacerdotes alios, et alia dubia incumbencia secundum leges ecclesie terminaret? Numquid credimus quod oportet Christum de celo semper descendere quando noviter est sua ecclesia consulenda? Qualitercunque hic loquaris in angulis, non auderes ista defendere vel dicere coram papa.

Such an enemy to the Pope and clergy should be suppressed.
Robbed of their lands they would perish, leaving no one to grant indulgences, ordain, etc.
Must Christ descend from Heaven whenever the Church needs counsel?
You would not dare argue so before the Pope.

Ver. answers:

VERITAS. Confisus in fide audeo hec dicere coram deo. Et si mortem temporalem adhuc timeo, sicut petrus, reputo quod debeo istam sentenciam defendere coram papa. Et sic quantum ad exaltacionem evangelicam quam allegas debeo.

If I shrank it would be but from bodily fear.

2. dei, *pro* domini, B, B¹, C. 4. eciam infert, B, B¹, C. 5. violencia, *pro* vinolencia, B, C. 8. 108, *pro* 10, B, B¹, C. 9. de, *om.* B, C. 10. talibus, B¹, C. 14. diffamans (*corr. ex* infamans) inferiores, B. infamans, B¹. diffamans, C. 16. dignitates, *pro* dignitas, B, B¹, C. corruerent, B, B¹, C. Sed, *om.* B, B¹, C. 27. excitacionem, *pro* exaltacionem, B, B¹, C.

3. 13 b. dicere istam sentenciam in spiritu * humilitatis et sperare quod exinde humiliabor amplius in virtute. Dico ergo istam sentenciam pro bono pape atque ecclesie; et si occisio vel alia pena exinde eveniat, rogo deum meum dare mihi virtutem ad constanter et humiliter paciendum. Et quantum ad ruinam status et dignitatis prelati cesarii, non posses patencius ipsos in talibus accusare, quia innuis quod, contrarie Christo et suis apostolis, dependent a dominio seculari. Sed procul a fidelibus sit talis dignitas sacerdotis. Videtur enim quod illa dignificat ad prelaciam in tartaris, que fundatur in via super bonis terrenis vel mundanis honoribus, quia contra legem dei foret quod ista mundana extollencia quemquam directe in beatitudine exaltaret. Ideo sicut peccator, in quantum hujusmodi, est contrarius sibi ipsi, sic in quantum ita niteris loqui pro papa et prelatis caesariis loqueris contra illos. Et sic cum hoc nomen papa sit terminus extra fidem scripture, videtur quod in dotacione ecclesie presumpta per cesarem est inventum. Et sic, si connotet istam ordinacionem, ut innuis, salubre foret ecclesie quod non forent papa vel aliqui cardinales, quia episcopus animarum dominus jhs Christus cum servis suis fidelibus longe melius sine papa tali et prelatis aliis regeret ecclesiam militantem. Sic enim fecerunt post ascensionem domini petrus et alii sacerdotes pauperes antequam ecclesia est dotata, quare ergo non sic facerent hodie? Cum status illi sint seminarium dissencionis et pugne pro dominio seculari. Ideo si doleres propter casum hujusmodi, potissima materia dolendi videtur humi-
3[1]. 156 c. liacio antichristi. Nam blasfe*me concessiones indulgen-
3. 13 c. ciarum in patria, tediose oneraciones fidelium hic in via, * cum tradicionibus et persecucionibus antichristi cessarent
11 b. in ecclesia; sed felix cessacio, et sic est de omnibus operibus

I speak in humility and honesty of purpose.

If the dignity of prelates would be destroyed, unlike Christ's, it rests on their secular power.

Such dignity qualifies for prelacy in Hell.

This defence of pope and prelates is their condemnation.

The name 'pope' is unknown to scripture.

If it is as you say, it would be good for the church to have neither pope nor cardinals.

And revert to the order of the primitive church.

Getting rid of the blasphemy of indulgences, and the burdens of the faithful.

1. docere, *sed al. man. in marg.* dicere, B^1, docere, C. 6. et dignitatis, *om.* B, B^1, C. 7. sic contrarie, B, B^1, C. 20. alii, *pro* aliqui, B, B^1, C. dominus noster, B, B^1, C. 24. erat, *pro* est, B, B^1, C. 29. patria *al. man. corr. ex* papa, B., papa, *sed al. man. in marg.* patria, B^1. 31. esset, *pro* sed, B, B^1, C.

Once more following Christ's footsteps, the Church would prosper. And the secular dominion of the clergy would cease.

The church would gain by the abolition of indulgences.

Which are unfounded fancies.

All clerical functions conducing to gain are stumbling-blocks.

Including the triple functions of a bishop, confirmation, ordination, and consecration of places.

It is not for such things as these Christ need descend from heaven.

Christ's cause will triumph before the judgement day.

que sic fiunt a prelatis hujusmodi extollenter; et sic prosperaretur ecclesia sequente persona * que apud deum C. 15 est excellencior vestigia Christi in moribus et vestigia sancti petri. Nec dubium quin tunc non dominaretur seculariter papa, episcopus vel aliquis clericorum, quia manifestum est ex fide scripture duplicis testamenti quod sic vixit et docuit dominus jhs Christus. Et quantum ad indulgencias, privilegia, et regulacionem ecclesie in lege nova, patet quod foret sibi expediens et toti ecclesie viatorum quod omnes novitates hujusmodi sint sopite. Sic enim fuit tempore Christi antequam antichristus sic regnaverat, et erit post diem judicii vel tempore anteriore quo placet domino jhu Christo. Omnia enim talia videntur esse fantasmata non fundata nec racionibus nec scriptura. Sicut ergo illis deficit fundacio racionis, sic profectus meriti beatitudinis, et sicut in declinacione a veritate claudicant, sic in profectu ad beatitudinem promerendam, ita quod omnes operaciones concernentes sacerdotes cesarios, in quantum tales, non proficiunt directe ad beatitudinem sed impediunt vel retardant. Et ita est de tribus dignitatibus sive officiis que episcopus sibi servat, que sunt juvenum confirmacio, clericorum ordinacio et locorum consecracio. Omnia enim ista sonant in cupidinem vel lucri temporalium vel honoris. Et sic non oportet propter tales cupidines Christum de celo descendere nec in terris ipsum talem vicarium reservare. Licet ergo antichristus videatur ad tempus * supra fideles Christi tyrannice dominari, tamen B. 13 fideles supponunt quod ante diem judicii pars Christi exaltabitur et pars contraria deprimetur; quia certum videtur quod vecordia potencium et timor servilis paciencium est in causa quare sic pars diaboli hodie in angulo habitabilis exaltatur.

1. excellenter, *pro* extollenter, B[1], C. 6. testimonii, *pro* testamenti, B, B[1], C, *sed al. man. in marg.* testamenti, B[1]. 11. Antichristus, *om.* B, B[1], C. 12. anteriori, B, B[1], C. 30. ab illis, *pro* habitabilis, B, B[1], C.

CAPITULUM 25m.

MENDACIUM. Video quod moliris contra statum sacerdocii, sicut loqueris contra statum religiosorum per papam et totam ecclesiam confirmatum. Velles enim quod sacerdotes non venderent preces suas, sed quomodo, rogo, tunc viverent, vel cui intenderent operi manuali? Numquid forent carucarii vel consecrantes in dies corpus domini polluerent manus suas sanctas turpi opere manuali?

Mend. objects: If priests do not sell their prayers, how are they to live? By manual labour?

VERITAS. Testis sit mihi deus affecto prosperitatem spiritualem et comodum sacerdotum; nollem tamen quod venderent preces suas nec quod forent mercantes mundani nec feneracionibus aut aliis negociis illicitis ocupati. Sed vellem quod intenderent predicacioni evangelii vel labori mecanico, ut scripture, vel alteri corporali, dum tamen preservarent se ab avaricia et aliis criminibus manifestis. Ymmo, ut videtur mihi, pos*sent * licite cum secularibus vel aliis conducentibus convenire quantum de precio accipient annuatim, dum tamen in limitibus apostoli pa thymo 6o habentes alimenta et quibus tegantur sint cum prudencia contentati. Et * omnino quod caveant de peccatis majoribus et intendant subducto ocio operibus sacerdotalibus; et specialiter quod propter suam * cupidinem non sint ecclesie onerosi, ut quod non sint incontinentes aut cupidi vel in officiis aut jocis mundialibus ocupati. Et ut videtur mihi foret cum istis salubrius sacerdotibus exercicio manuali intendere, ut scripture, informacioni gramatice vel alteri operacioni ad quam

¹. 156 d. 12.
Tim. vi. 8.
. 16 a.
. 14 a.

Ver. answers: I desire that the priesthood may prosper, but not by selling prayers, nor by usury. They may do any manual work so they keep free from avarice. Priests may agree to take a yearly salary, if they will be content with little.

It would be good for them to write, or teach grammar, as well.

5. suas, *om.* B, B¹, C. 7. carucarii vel carnifices et consecrantes corpus Christi polluerent, B, B¹, C. 9. quod affecto, B, B¹, quod aspecto, C. 13. predicacioni, *om.* B, B¹, C. lab. evangelii vel mec., *ord. inv.* B, B¹, *sed corr. ex* evangelio vel lab. mec., B, evangelio vel. lab. mec., C. 16. aliis sec., B, B¹. 17. accipiant, B, B¹, acciperent, C. 19. contenti, *pro* contentati, B, B¹, C.

deus moverit suos famulos, ut teneant se in limitibus supradictis.

For did not St. Paul work as a tentmaker?

Unde de paulo legimus act. 18º quod erat artis **Acts xviii.** senefectiore, et act. 20º testatur ipsemet de se ipso: *in* **Acts xx. 3** *hiis que mihi necessaria erant et hiis qui mecum erant ministraverunt manus iste.* Sed quis nostrum est dignior isto Paulo?

It is idleness, not work, that unfits them for their duties.

Operacio quidem talis laboris corporalis non inficit, vel sacerdotem ad consecracionem corporis domini indisponit, sed ocium, superba ocupacio, vel onerositas ecclesie, aut aliud inficiens mentem suam.

If priests fight manfully against the devil, Christ will not desert them.

Confidat ergo sacerdos in domino et certet viriliter contra diabolum, seculum atque carnem, nec desperet quin deus de temporalibus sibi necessariis providebit, considerans illud M^t 6º quomodo Christus dicit **Matt. vi. 25.** suis fidelibus quod non sint soliciti circa ista, monens per exemplum de volucribus atque liliis, quomodo deus non deficit eis in necessariis, quanto magis non servis suis fidelibus magis dignis.

Let them put their trust in God.

Ponat ergo se sacerdos fidelis in manu domini, et non ponat contra se obicem per peccatum, et non dubium quod quicquid sibi contigerit cedet sibi ad profectum anime salutarem.

And endure privation thankfully, with constant faith.

Paciatur ergo famem, sitim et corporis nuditatem, non tamen tantam quantam apostolus, et in istis omnibus gracias agat deo. Et stet constans fide quod deus non potest deserere servos suos fideles * qui in fide et vita sua **B. 14 b.** fideliter perseverant.

Friars abandon Christian liberty.

Sunt autem vocati sacerdotes de hiis sectis IIII^{or}, et specialiter de fratribus, qui peccando ponunt obicem sibi ipsis, ut hii deserendo libertatem legis domini induunt novos ordines adinventos, et ultra quam deus consulit,

Their number is too great, their houses too splendid, their rites useless.

in fratribus superfluis, in domibus sumptuosis et aliis ritibus inutilibus glomerantur. Et necesse est tales quandoque esse perplexos racione peccati prioris, in quo deserentes libertatem legis domini stolide se involvunt; et tales dicuntur habere

1. moverit *corr. ex* moveret, B, moveret, B^1. 3. senefactorie *corr. ex* scenofactorie, B, scenofactorie, B^1. 8. aliud, *om. et supra verba* aut inf. ment. *al. man.*, est ut invidia luxuria, B, est, *pro* aut aliud, B^1, C. 10. et, *pro* atque, B, B^1, C, neque, *pro* nec, B, B^1, C. 15. non, *om.* B, B^1, C. 18. quod, *om.* B, quin, *pro* quod, B^1, C. cedit, B, B^1, C. 21. in fide, B, B^1, C. 22. servos, *om.* B^1, C. 26. consuluit, B, C, consulit, *sed al. man. in marg.* consuluit, B^1.

istam consuetudinem quod de multis hominibus simul accipiunt annuam pencionem tanquam singuli eorum proprii oratores, et sic fraudant hos homines et seipsos; cum tenentes
12 b. se in libertate legis domini * possent facilius et competencius vivere et minus esse fidelibus onerosi. Unum enim peccatum inducit in aliud, sicut volutantes se in lacum per hoc pro-
1. 157 a. fundius demerguntur. * Nec video quin fundamentum istius sentencie sit sacerdotibus superioribus, cujusmodi sunt pre-
. 16 b. lati * et curati, cum majori diligencia observandum, cavendo semper ne sint in ecclesia ociosi nec subditis onerosi. Videtur tamen mihi racionabile quod curatus ocupatus ex dei ordinancia infirmitate corporali debet de parochia titulo elemosine, sicut prius cum moderamine, sustentari.

Friars take annual payments from many men, as if they would be special bedesmen for each.

And from this are drawn deeper into sin.

The blame lies with prelates, who should have kept the Church free from such burdensome members.

Yet a sick or disabled parish priest has a right to alms.

CAPITULUM 26m.

MENDACIUM. * Adhuc videtur quod innuis destruccionem cleri in anglia et per consequens legis Christi. Quis, rogo, secularis sciret defendere fidem ecclesie contra hereticos si non essent in universitatibus collegia super temporalibus dominiis et appropriatis ecclesiis stabilita, ut patet de heresi
1. 14 c. in eucaristia et aliis similibus que in fine temporum * diabolus spissius seminavit?

Mend. objects: If it were not for endowed colleges, how could theological learning be kept up, and heresies be combated?

VERITAS. * Quondam movebat me ista sentencia, sed qui me segregavit ex utero affecionis proprietarie dixit mihi, quod oportet omnes istas affecciones relinquere, et in ordinacione Christi et dei fidem ponere. Cum ergo Christus non ordinavit istas universitates sive collegia, manifestum videtur quod ista, sicut graduaciones in illis, sunt vana gentilitas introducta; in cujus signum tam collegiati quam alii graduati

Ver. answers:

I too thought thus till taught of God.

Universities and colleges are not of Christ's foundation.

Their endowments give rise

1. capiunt, *pro* accipiunt, B, B¹, C. 17. legem, *pro* fidem, B, B¹, C. 18. universalibus collegiis, B, B¹, C. 19. elemosinis, *pro* ecclesiis, B, B¹, C, stabiliti, B, B¹, C. 20. fratrum temporibus, *pro* fine temporum, B, B¹, C. 25. et dei, *om.* B, B¹, C.

to self-seeking and bickerings.

in universitatibus querunt que sua sunt, caritatis regulas deserentes; ex quo pullulant invidie, comparaciones personarum et patrie, et multa alia seminaria patris mendacii, sicut noverunt qui particulariter considerant istam scolam. Ideo objectus contra secularia dominia clericorum et appropriaciones ecclesiarum stant vivaciter contra istos. Et quantum ad fructum certum videtur quod unus idiota, mediante dei

An unlearned man with God's grace does more for the Church than many graduates.

gracia, plus proficit ad edificandum Christi ecclesiam quam multi graduati in scolis sive collegiis, quia seminat humilius et copiosius legem Christi tam opere quam sermone. Ideo si omnes solicitudines superflue quantum ad edificacionem ecclesie forent abscise ab istis scolasticis, vel totum vel major pars ocupacionis hujus ab ecclesia raderetur. Conceditur tamen quod omnia ista tam studia quam collegia,

Scholastic studies, by God's grace, have certainly done good, but would have done more had His commands been obeyed. They rather breed than destroy heresies. Benefits from them are accidental, and are outweighed by their evils.

sicut diaboli proposita, profuerunt, sed non directe, ymmo mediante dei gracia; et pure secundum legem et ordinacionem suam plus ecclesie profuissent. Et quantum ad destrucciones heresum, videtur multis quod talia studia sunt nidus heresis et fomentum, vel si * quandoque prosunt per accidens, B. 14 d. sicut sciencie que domini theologie graduacionem et confirmacionem suam aliquociens obsecuntur, hoc rarenter evenit, et peccata sua vel omissionis vel commissionis sepius eveniunt in hiis locis. Ut que securitas est in istis defendendo quod

Witness the heresy as to the nature of the Host.

hostia consecrata non sit corpus domini sed accidens incognitum sine subjecto, ut reserant nove secte? Et sic est de aliis heresibus noviter pullulantibus contra fidem, nam * in- B[1]. 157 b. spiracio sacerdotum simplicium, tam in noticia quam in operacione voluntaria, plus * proderit capacitati fidelium laicorum 113. quam omnes dicte universitates cum studiis suis adjacentibus,

Simple priests are better teachers than any University.

vel privilegiis laycos deprimentibus * ipocritice introductis. C. 17 a. Nec ista asserimus propter invidiam sed propter amorem

6. illos, *pro* istos, B, B[1], tales, C. 12. tota, B, C. 13. hujusmodi, B, C. 15. peccata per accidens, *pro* proposita, B, B[1], C. 20. ecclesie quemadmodum theologie ad decorem, *pro* sc. que dom. theol. grad., B, B[1], C. 22. vel obmissius vel commissius, B, B[1], C. 23. multis, *pro* istis, B, B[1], C.

profectus ecclesie et cursum liberum legis Christi. Et idem dicimus de domibus fratrum et aliorum ordinum qui sunt in talibus universitatibus stabiliti. Paulus enim quondam phari-
Phil. iii. 5. seus, ut patet philip 3º, propter meliorem sectam Christi ex ejus licencia sectam istam tanquam providus dereliquit; quare ergo non debent sacerdotes hodie conformiter operari? Et hec racio quare claustrales, cujuscunque secte fuerint vel obligacionis aut juramenti stulti astricti, debent libere ex mandato Christi exire ista vincula et induere libere sectam Christi. Nam ex fide capimus quod secta illa in sua libertate est melior, facilior et undequaque utilior. Sed quis fidelis hesitat quin deus bonus dat servis suis licenciam ad
B. 15 a. istam partem libere eligendum et aliam con*dicionis contrarie dimittendum? Nam constitutiones papæ vel regule alie private non possunt infringere istam legem. Que, rogo, racio duceret fidelem ad habendum conscienciam super isto quod eligit melius, ordinacioni dei conformius, et ecclesie militanti utilius? Et cum super omissione istius voluntatis domini non habet conscienciam, sicut super peccatis multis gravibus que perpetrat tam patule quam occulte, numquid credimus sic prediligendo tradiciones humanas tanquam idolatria sibi constituit deos falsos, cum quicquid homo preponderanter diligit constituit deum suum, sed tales tradiciones humanas preponderanter diligendo ultra ordinacionem domini prediligit ordinantem. Et idem videtur de temporalibus dominis qui propter affeccionem proprietariam et mundani nominis constituunt vel consenciunt hujusmodi novitati. Omnes enim videntur ex quadam stulticia quodammodo blasfemare.

Paul left the sect of the Pharisees for the better sect of Christ.

All claustrals, therefore, should freely cast off their bonds and enter Christ's sect.

No faithful man can doubt that Christ would approve this.

Papal constitutions can be of no force against His law.

Love of human traditions deadens the conscience and is an idolatry.

Temporal lords by their acquiescence also blaspheme God.

4. ad Phil. B, B^1, C. 6. sacerdotes hodie non deberent (*pro* debent) *ord. inv.* B, sacerdotes hujusmodi (*pro* hodie) non deberent (*pro* debent) *ord. inv.* B^1, C. 11. undequaque, *om.* B, B^1, C. 12. det, B, B^1, C. 15. rogo, *om.* B, B^1, C. 17. elegit, B, B^1, C. et (*ante* ecclesie), *om.* B, B^1, C. 20. perpetrant, B, B^1, perpetravit, C. 21. quin sic, B, B^1, C. 22. dominos plures, *pro* deos falsos, B, B^1, C. 24. non prediligit, B, B^1, C.

CAPITULUM 27m.

Mend. objects:

Your persistence in this flat heresy will bring you excommunication, suspension, and death.

MENDACIUM. * Video quod errore stulto cecaris non timens tanquam lapis insensibilis censuras ecclesie contra tuam sentenciam fulminandas. Nam ista defendens citaberis, excommunicaberis, et ab omni fructu in ecclesia utili suspenderis. Et hoc videtur racionabile quia pertinaciter ad detrimentum ecclesie defendis heresim manifestam. Nec dubium quin ad ista consequetur incarceracio et atrocissima pena mortis.

Ver. answers:

A faithful man is ready to imitate Christ's sufferings for the truth.

VERITAS. * Scio quod contenciosa et terrifica verba seminas non fundata. Ideo consolatus de Christo et lege sua non timeo * verba tua. Christus enim tolleravit humiliter ac B. 15 b. pacienter tam improperia quam finaliter penam acerbam et mortem maxime exprobrosam. Quis ergo fidelis servus domini propter talia timeret prudenter dicere veritatem? Omnes enim censure antichristi non sunt nisi false umbre, a via domini timidos exterrentes. Si enim * antichristus citat B. 157 a. hominem * ad locum quem non intelligit nec scit si pro C. 15 b. tempore citationis erit in tartaris cum diabolo stabilitus, et Christus citat per legem suam, per instinctum et casus quos immittit ad partem contrariam; quis dubitat quin citacioni domini est parendum? Ideo non foret signum evidencius ad ostendendum quod ta*lis citans sit antichristus et filius 113 b. patris mendacii quam talis falsa citacio contra Christum.

Christ's citation must be obeyed rather than Antichrist's.

Antichrist's excommunication will win Christ's blessing.

Et quantum ad excommunicacionem, dictum est diffuse alibi quod sonat probabiliter in dei benediccionem Ps. cix. 28. cum psalmo 108° scribitur *Maledicent illi et tamen benedices.* Mal. ii. 2. Et malachie 2° *Maledicam benediccionibus vestris.* Et Matt. v. 11. Mt. 5° dicit Christus *beati eritis cum maledixerint vobis homines et persecuti vos fuerint et dixerint omne malum adversus vos mencientes propter me.* Christus autem non dimisit

2. cecatus es, B, B¹, C. 9. verba et terr., *ord. inv.* B, B¹, C. 10. consolatus, *sed int. lin.* confisus, B, confisus, B¹, C. 19. instrumentum, *pro* instinctum, B, B¹. C.

dicere veritatem evangelicam propter tales minas a diabolo fulminatas; quare ergo debet Christianus, securus de fide sua timere vivere vel dicere veritatem legis domini quam cognoscit, cum persecucio corporia sit malum maximum inferendum? Sed Mat. 5° scribitur *beati qui persecucionem paciuntur propter justiciam, quoniam ipsorum est regnum celorum.* Ecce felix premium propter penam momentaneam commutatum: ideo nullus nisi * in fide trepidans vel infidelis stacionem istam in fide domini formidaret. Et quantum ad suspencionem patet quod summi episcopi jerusalem et sui complices Christum in crucis patibulo suspenderunt, quare ergo non possunt eorum vicarii suspendere veritatem evangelicam et servos fideles domini jhu Christi? Cum antichristus et sui vicarii post tantam gratitudinem a redemptore perceptam videntur esse plus istis summis sacerdotibus et phariseis ingrati, et per consequens in suspencione frivola et infundabili plus scelesti. Unum ergo solacium est fideli quod omnes iste censure mendaciter ficte non sunt fundande in Christo vel lege sua, sed ab antichristo minatorie machinate. Et quantum ad fructus ecclesie certum est quod meritum insensibile est fructus pocior quam fructus sensibilis; ideo juxta proverbium salomonis *Maledictus qui propter buccellam panis deserit veritatem.* Nec sum mihi conscius quod defendo vel dico heresim aut contra papam vel aliquem cardinalem, sed dico Christi sentenciam licet videatur penalis ad tempus, tamen est quoad salutem anime utilis et salubris. Et celans istam sentenciam nullam partem ecclesie Christi diligeret, cum ipse ex summo amore dileccionem istam suis fidelibus exemplavit. Et fideles ecclesie possunt ad similitudinem jeremie strenuitatem suorum militum lamentare. Milites quidem antichristi audent in causa sua vel causa mundana sapientem lucrum proprium usque ad mortem contendere.

[Left margin: Matt. v. 10. — . 15 c. — Prov. xviii. 21.]

[Right margin notes:]
And this is a great reward for any earthly suffering.

As to suspension for preaching truth Antichrist will be imitating the high priests who suspended Christ on the gibbet.

The faithful will be consoled by knowing that the suspension has no authority from Christ.

It is better to lose the material fruits of the Church than the spiritual.

I am not conscious of speaking any heresy.

Silence would prove lack of love to the Church.

Alas, that Christ's soldiers are less daring than Antichrist's.

3. vivere vel, *om.* B, B[1], C. 4. non sit, B, B[1], C. max. mal., *ord. inv.* B, B[1], C. 9. domini, *om.* B, B[1], C. 27. Christi, *om.* B, B[1], C. 28. Christus, *pro* ipse, B, B[1], C. 32. capiente, *pro* sapientem, B, C, sapiente *corr. ex* capiente, B[1].

Sed milites Christi non audent, sicut et ipsi audent in causa diaboli vel leviter se exponere periculo imminenti, causa * im- C. 18 a. mensitatis mercedis perpetue sic certantibus infallibiliter repromisse; ubi non * occurrit causa * patula nisi infidelitas B^1. 157 c germinans supra fidem ecclesie utrobique. B. 15 d.

CAPITULUM 28m.

Mend. objects:

How can you prove that pious founders did foolishly? If alms may be given for a certain length of time, why not in perpetuity?

Especially since these perpetual alms have been ratified by princes, and till now never attacked.

MENDACIUM. Moveres per tuam stulticiam consciencias multarum generacionum quarum principia fundarunt elemosinas multas perpetuas. Numquid ergo scis probare quod fundaverant illas stulte? Si autem ille elemosine possunt ad tempus expendi ad honorem dei et utilitatem sue ecclesie, quare non possunt amplius usque ad diem judicii, cum deus sit eque omnipotens et eque * graciosus in uno tempore sicut 114. in alio? Et specialiter cum ille elemosine sint per multa juramenta regum et dominorum secularium et cum legibus papalibus confirmate, nec audebant scioli usque hodie istam elemosinam improbare: qua ergo lege vel racione, quin pocius imprudencia, hoc attemptas?

Ver. answers:

Christ did not found these alms, but forbade all thought for the morrow.

VERITAS. * Scio ex fide quod Christus est dominus etiam temporis, et cum hoc omnipotens ac etiam omnisciens. Ipse autem non fundavit tales elemosinas, quin pocius in evangelio contradixit; cum voluit clericos suos vivere hic tanquam peregrinos et pauperes, tendendo ad patriam tanquam heredes beatitudinis et non terrene possessionis, ad bona beatitudinis aspirare. Ideo precipit Mt 6° *Nolite esse soliciti in crastinum, crastinus enim dies solicitus erit sibi ipsi. Sufficit enim diei malicia sua.* Nunc autem contrarium hujus doctrine Christi de perpetuis elemosinis est tanquam prudencia tam a clero quam secularibus adoptata. Scimus tamen ex lege quod Christus manet in eternum, et isti temporales domini hodie

2. saltem *add. ante* vel, B, C. periculis imminente causa, B, B^1, C. 9. pro vero, *pro* probare, B^1. 25. precepit, B^1, C. 29. a secularibus, B, B^1, C.

florent ut herba et cras in clibanum convertuntur. Ideo videtur non esse prudencia * tales globos claustralium vel aliorum mortalium atque tam fragiliter peccabilium contra dominum stabilire; ymmo ingressi habitacionem secundum tale propositum in principio peccaverunt et infra tempus notabile plus sensibiliter; nec movet plus evidencia facta in contrarium quam si argueres pisces extracti de aqua possunt vivere ad tempus in aere, ergo pro suo perpetuo; vel homines possunt manere ad tempus sine inspiracione aeris sub uno anelitu, ergo possunt sic vivere satis diu. Oportet enim viantes in seculo tribulacionibus et aqua secundum influencias domini temperari, et aspirando ad celestia cordis refrigeria mitigari. Et sub ista figura creditur quod Christus elegit tam communiter sub divo cum hominibus conversari. Idem ergo videtur vocare istas cohabitaciones stultas elemosinas perpetuas, et vocare deliramenta contra dominum conquisita hereditates perpetuas ad viros diabolicos incolendum. Sed que elemosina est talem habitacionem perpetuare, cum quocunque attemptante istam stulticiam dominus ordinat quod non fiat? Et sic racionabiliter moverentur generaciones hominum ad peccata sue generacionis preterite condolendum, et non ad continuendum in sua culpa preterita, * sed ad juvandum ne amplius fiat parentibus suis mortuis in peccatum. Et sic racione multiplici est mihi evidens quod fundaverant ista stulte, cum blasfeme contra ordinacionem domini se extulerant supra Christum. [Ideo videtur quod domini temporales perpetuantes elemosinas blasfemant in deum dupliciter; primo enim videntur usurpare implicite quod illos elemosinatos ad hoc habilitabunt per tantum temporis, quod non placet communitus deo suo. Videtur 2° ex parte alia quod dicunt sic tacite deo suo quod constituent suos elemosynarios super tales redditus, velit nolit ille dominus capitalis.

[Margin, beside line 2: ...16 a.; beside line 22: ...10 b.]

It shows little prudence to set up these herds of claustrals against Christ.

By your argument because fish can live a certain time out of water they must be able to live so for ever. Or men to do without breathing, because they can cease it for a moment.

Christ's example is in favour of an open air life.

To endow cloisters in perpetuity is no alms.

Descendants of founders should try to remedy their ancestors' wrong-doing.

By founding perpetual alms men blaspheme God. First, by engaging for such a length of time to keep almsmen, when it may not please God. Secondly, by so making over rents, without the leave of the chief lord.

12. refrigerio integrari, *pro* refrigeria mitigari, B, B^1, C. 14. cum hominibus, *om.* B, B^1, C. 16. deum, *pro* dominum, B, B^1, C. 26. *Verba quae uncis inclusi, ut* B, B^1, C, *prorsus omittunt, ita codex noster non nisi in ima pagina osuit.*

Sed sciant mundani principes quod durum est eos contra stimulum calcitrare cum defendens proditorem incurrit ut sic peccatum proditorium domini capitalis.]

As for princes' ratifications, these are nought against Christ.

Et quantum ad juramenta procerum et cartas * eorum istas B^1. 158 a elemosynas confirmantes, patet quod non est juramentum vel carta contra dominum, sed omnia illa conformiter legi domini cum prudencia sagaci festinancius sunt solvenda. B. 16 b. Et conformiter dicitur de legibus papalibus in hac parte,

All these papal laws defeat the fifth commandment by depriving future generations of the means of honouring the Church.

omnia enim talia videntur sapere contra primum mandatum 114 b. secunde tabule de Christo patre et matre ecclesia honorandis; et sic antiquus dierum tam omittendo quam legem condendo, patenter istam stulticiam reprobavit. Unde inter alias cautelas diaboli hec est una quod peccata que introduxit subdole baptizat nomine elemosine vel virtutis.

CAPITULUM 29^{m}.

Mend. objects:

MENDACIUM. * Sed adhuc repplicatur specialius quod licet 118. clericus sic dotari. Nam nulli dubium quin domini tempo-

Lords may keep up a grant of annual rents made by their ancestors.

rales possunt per annum dare redditus suorum dominiorum in manum mortuam et fratribus optinendos, et per idem per quantumcunque temporis; etiam sic servari possunt elemosine perpetue a progenitoribus concessa per generacionem

So the Lordship remains in the secular hands, and the fruits only go to the clergy.

ex dei ordinancia succedentem. Stat ergo servari dominium in manu principalis domini secularis, et genus sacerdotum per quantumcunque tempus racionabile percipere puros fructus; sic enim possent vivere continue in paupertate evan-

Why then may not lords convey ownership and save trouble?

gelica et pauperibus distribuere fideliter quod superest de elemosinis sibi datis. Quare ergo non licet dominis sic dare suas elemosinas exonerando se et suos posteros? Et ex parte

Following the example of the apostles, the clergy may distribute these alms to the poor.

altera licet clericis prudenter distribuere has elemosinas, sicut apostoli et diaconi fecerunt, ut patet act. 6°; et sic Acts vi. 1-3.

4. cartulas (*pro* cartas): eorum, *om.* B, B^1, C. 19. eciam, *pro* et, B, B^1, C. 20. tempus, *pro* temporis, B, B^1, C. et, *pro* etiam, B, B^1, C. 22. licet, *pro* stat, B, B^1, C. 25. posset, B^1, C. 30. et diaconi, *om.* B, B^1, C. sicut, *pro* sic, B, B^1, C.

att. xiv. ; xv. 37. apostoli collegerunt fragmenta, ut patet Mt 14. 15, sed ad quid nisi ad distribuendum pauperibus? Faciant ergo clerici secundum hanc formam evangelicam, ut promittunt, et nemo potest eos ex racione vel evangelio im-
. 16 c. pugnare *.

Ver. answers: An angel from heaven may not give alms except as God wills.

VERITAS. Videtur mihi quod evidencior sagitta de tua pharetra non processit. Sed quantum ad assumptum tuum fideles debent ut fidem supponere quod non licet mundanis dominis vel angelis de celo dare temporales elemosinas cuicunque de ecclesia militante, nisi conformiter voluntati divine ad edificacionem tocius ecclesie et secundum autorizacionem legis divine, cum deus sit dominus capitalis. Ideo et per ista dicitur quod redditus non fundantur, quantum concipio, dari in manum mortuam, nec sectis istis extraneis aliquid elemosine corporalis, sed convertantur pure ad sectam Christi, ut debent, et tunc potest eis talis elemosina impartiri.

The right destination of revenues is not the 'dead hand.'

Which must be so called because the hand of the clergy is dead as regards the imitation of Christ's working. Your argument from the goodness of some alms to that of all is the drunkard's argument, 'twice as much wine, twice as good.'

Nec video quare manus cleri debet vocari mortua nisi forte
. 19 a. quia est spiritualiter mortua ab imitacione operacionis * domini jhu Christi. Et quantum ad arguciam qua arguitur quod per idem, patet quod sagitta caret pennis, cum sit argucia gulosorum, qua sic arguunt; si licet potare quartam vini, per idem duplum, cum duplam virtutem contineat; et sic quousque potans fuerit debriatus. Et in ista argucia
. 158 b. videtur diabolum primum hominem decepisse, ac si innueret * quod non est nisi verbum jocosum domini, *de ligno sciencie boni et mali ne comederis*, vel saltem non est nisi leve peccatum quod potest esse per merita alia faciliter expergatum. [Ideo sicut nemo debet accipere elemosinas nisi autorizante deo, sic nemo debet dare elemosinas nisi autorizante domino capitali. Sicut enim secularis dominus non

It is as unlawful to give alms wrongly as to receive them.

As a lord may not accept consecration, so a bishop may not receive lordship.

1. et 15, B, B¹, C. 10. conformetur, C. 12. Ideo, *om.* B, B¹, C. 15. sed, *at al. man.* nisi, B, nisi, B¹, C. 17. cleri *corr. ex* clerici, B, clerici, B¹, C. debeat, B¹, C. 20. quod (*ante* per), *om.* B, B¹, C. 23. inebriatus, B, B¹, C. 26. comederitis, B, B¹, C. 28. *Verba quae uncis inclusi ut* B, B¹, C, *prorsus omittunt, ita codex noster non nisi in ima pagina apposuit.*

With God's leave alms may be given.

But do not perpetual alms occasion sin?

And would they not be better bestowed on the poor?

Whatever departs from Christ's rule must be abandoned, so therefore must these foundations.

By the abundance of their temporal possessions the clergy sin both in quantity and in quality.

Their wealth attracts idlers, so that, with less work to do, their proportion to the population is greater than was the Jewish priesthood's. While the proportion of their wealth is immensely greater.

debet accipere episcopale ministerium, licet episcopus errans potestatem illam finxerit sibi dare, sic nullus sacerdos debet accipere seculare dominium, licet secularis errans per elemosinam illam finxerit sibi dare, quia deficit autoritas domini approbans tale factum.] Sed cum modificacione gravetur sic racio, quod per idem licet elemosinare clerum quamdiu placeret domino capitali et prodesset ecclesie militanti; quia certum est quod sine tali modificacione non valet argucia. Sed rogo mendacium docere si sciverit quod ista elemosinacio ad edificacionem * ecclesie placet domino ihu Christo, vel quod non dat occasionem clero superbire, multa alia peccata committere et in Christi ministerio ociari. Ymmo quod non foret major elemosina dare aliis pauperibus ad quos Christus limitat luce 14° elemosinas has predictas. Quod cum mendacium nesciat, patet quod regula secura domini est tenenda. Cum debet esse fideli tanquam principium quod omne opus de quo debet esse sibi evidens quod deviat a voluntate vel regula ihu Christi debet dimitti, cum debet habere conscienciam facere tale opus. Sed debet esse evidens quod sic ditare clerum a voluntate et regula Christi deviat, ergo secularis debet istud dimittere. Evidens quidem est quod clerus per talem copiam temporalium peccat in quantitate et qualitate contrarius voluntati domini jhu Christi. In quantitate quidem, quo ad numerum proporcionalem aliis partibus ecclesie militantis, evidens quidem est quod talis mundana prosperitas facit clerum in numero superfluo appetere istum statum. Nam in lege veteri ubi labor fuit onerosior in mactando bestias et observando ceremonias, ut patet act. 15, fuit minor numerus sacerdotum et levitarum quam est in anglia quo ad residuum populi regni nostri, vel saltem non fuerunt tantum proporcionaliter ditati sicut jam

B. 16 d.

Luke xiv. 13.

Acts xv. 10.

6. ideo, *pro* racio, B, B¹, *sed* B *in rasura,* scilicet quod, *pro* racio, C. 7. placet, B¹, C. 13. ad, *om.* B, B¹, C. 18. alias a veritate, *post* voluntate, *add.* B, veritate, *pro* voluntate, B¹. 19. ferre, *pro* facere, B, C, facere, *sed in rasura,* B¹. 30. Bohemia, *pro* Anglia, C. proprii, *pro* populi, B, C. 31. dotati, *pro* ditati, B, B¹, C.

ditatur in anglia clerus noster. Habuerunt autem decimas et alias portiunculas bestiarum, sed quid est hoc quo ad omnes decimas in anglia et alios redditus cum privatis elemosinis quas percipit clerus noster? Ideo nulli fideli foret evidens quin numerus cleri nostri excedit numerum

. 17 a. quem approbat jhs * noster. Et quo ad qualitatem patet quod cleri ocupacio circa temporalia et dimissio evangelizacionis paupertatis et humilitatis que a domino sunt precepta tollit qualitatem, quia virtutem cleri secundum limites a domino nominatos. Quis ergo prudens daret istas elemosinas tali forma?

On the other hand their occupation about temporal cares spoils them for Christ's service.

CAPITULUM 30m.

VERITAS. Item suppono quod clerus propter cupidinem horum temporalium velit dotacionem dimittere et sub forma elemosine perpetue bona ista accipere et sic redit idem

. 19 b. * clericis quo ad fructus. Istud autem est multis inevidens cum tunc caderet a titulo quem silvester a cesare acceptavit, nec veritas perpetue elemosine in anglia salvaretur cum defendere non posset quin propter multa et magna peccata

l'. 158 c. * que perpetraverat sepius cadebat a titulo elemosine[1], cum non sit elemosina taliter apostatas enutrire. Immo non docetur vel evidenter ostenditur quod talis donacio unquam fuit elemosina voluntati divine conformata, quomodo ergo fingerent quod sit pura et perpetua elemosina? Numquid credimus quod sit in potestate istorum hominum perpetuare

Supposing the clergy ready to exchange endowments for a perpetual alms, they would lose their title, and yet the alms would be no true alms.

Have men the power of investing any donation

1. dotatur, B^1, C. *ante* habuerunt *verba* Illi enim in antiqua lege *add.* B, B^1, C, *sed* B, *al. man. in marg.* Autem, *om.* B, B^1, C 2. aliquas, *pro* alias, C. 6. Christus, *pro* noster, B, B^1, C. 7. ewangelice, *pro* evangelacionis, B, B^1, C. 8. precipitanter tollunt, *pro* precepta, tollit, B, B^1, C. 16. autem, *om.* B, B^1, C. 19. propter *al. man. in marg.* B^1; *om.* B, C. 21. tales *corr. ex* taliter, B, tales, C. 22. dotacio *corr. al man. in* donacio, B, dotacio, C. 24. perp. et pura, *ord. inv.* C.

[1] Quod sequitur ad finem capituli, in codice nostro prorsus omissum, e codice B^1 (1387) suppletum est.

they please with the character of alms?

talem elemosinam cleri sui ac si dicerent contra Christum, ego volo quod sit elemosina quomodocunque vixerint et fuerint contrarie legi tue, vel ego volo quod vivat ad edificacionem ecclesie Christi utiliter, quia indubie sic vult deus, ergo mea volicio est impleta. Stephanus quidem Act. 7° negavit hanc consequenciam cum dixit Judeos specialiter religiosos atque

Despite the good intention of the donor, God takes away alms from priests when they sin, and secular lords should conform to His decree.

episcopos sepe voluntati divine restitisse, quis ergo color quod sic ditantes ecclesiam benefecerant cum habuerunt huiusmodi voluntatem, deus enim non * obstante voluntate huius- B. 17 b.
modi inculpabili auffert collata istis clericis cum sic delinquunt, quare ergo non debent sic domini se dei bene placito conformantes, cum in hoc non iacet evidens periculum sed conformitas legi dei, quia non dubium quin clerus in apostolis et Chrysti discipulis vixit securius atque perfeccius carendo talibus diutinis elemosinis quam vivit vel vixerit clerus noster. Quis ergo fructus spiritualis vel vita mira-

The argument that perpetual alms can be maintained by renewals from successive heirs is bad, for (i) these are not perpetual alms, (ii) they have not the merit ascribed to such alms, (iii) the heirs would do no good work in renewing them.

culosa daret evidenciam ad continuandum tales elemosinas sic inceptas? Et patet defectus argucie consequentis, quando arguitur quod sic servari possent elemosine perpetue a progenitoribus concesse per generacionem ex dei ordinancia succedentem. Nec enim docetur quod iste sunt elemosine perpetue fundate a progenitoribus, nec quod illi exinde a dampnacione perpetua sunt exempti, nec quod esset meritorium generacioni illorum dictam elemosinam servare pro morula in hac forma, nec video per hoc evidenciam, nisi quod isti domini in hoc excedunt et declinant a regula domini Jesu Christi. Cum ergo in talibus pars securior sit tenenda, videtur quod foret securius talem ad ewangelicam paupertatem restringere et non excedere limites Jesu Christi.

Granting that temporal lords would be willing

Et concedi posset quod seculares domini conservent et colligant ad usus cleri omnes redditus istos sive fructus et

2. fuerint, *om.* C. 3. vivant, B. 4. si, *pro* sic, C. 6. et specialiter, B, C. 7. semper, *pro* sepe, C. 10. dum, *pro* cum sic, B, C. 11. non *al. man. in marg.* B[1], B. *al. man.* sp̄. (=supple?) aufferre, B. 12. evidenter, B, C. 13. legi, B, C, legis, B[1]. 15. vixerat, B. 18. est, *pro* patet, C. 26. domini, *om.* B, C. 31. istos redd., *ord. inv.* B.

expendant residuum suorum redituum circa colleccionem
istam servilem. Sed non sequitur quod tunc bene, quia talis
servitus istis clericis non est in lege domini exemplata, et
17 c. ipsimet clerici propter zelum quem habent * ad dominacio-
nem secularem non tale servicium secularium acceptarent.
20 a. Sed evidenter infertur quod episcopi vel * ewangelisantes
fideliter dyaconos limitarent ad moderatam elemosinam
ministrandam. Sed quid hoc ad perpetuacionem sive
dominium, cum secundum legem domini insecuritas in tali
elemosina sit meritoria et ad non confidendum in tempora-
libus sed in vita et spe ad beatitudinem inductiva? Numquid
credimus quod tales per castra sua caynitica possunt sub-
158 d. vertere legem dei et facere hic manentem civitatem et pro*s-
peritatem mundanam premium laboris et mercedem ultimam
viatoris? Sed arguitur quod hoc officium pertineat sacerdoti
quia Math. 6.° et 8° legitur quo modo Christus fecit suos
apostolos de panibus et piscibus quos miraculose multiplica-
verat populo ministrare; ergo licet nostris episcopis habere
ultra vite necessaria ad pauperibus parciendum. Sed hic
concedi debet conclusio cum episcopi debent esse hospitales
secundum apostolum. Sed iste locus simealis a simili vide-
tur pocius concludere quod ipsi debent in persona propria
ministrare egentibus regis elemosinas eis datas. Sed ex isto
non sequitur quod thesaurisare debent vel perdere regis
elemosinas pauperibus parciendas. Nec sequitur ex isto
quod possunt per diem vel septimanam et multo magis per
centum annos elemosinas totidem domini conservare. Et
claret in facto quod nec manibus propriis ministrant egenis
fideliter ista bona, nec per ministros ipsa faciunt fideliter
ministrare, quia deus scit si voluntati sue eterne sit contra-
rium ut sic fiat. Ideo arguicia ista est similis illi qua con-
17 d. cluditur, quod episcopi debent * pati Christum vel papam
lavare sibi pedes, quia apostoli cum domino sic fecerunt. Si

to act as rent-gatherers for the clergy, they would be acting unscripturally, and the clergy would refuse their services.

The essence of dependence on alms is that it should be precarious.

Are we to believe that by their 'Caim's Castles' they can set up an abiding city here?

It is argued that as the Apostles distributed Christ's loaves and fishes, so Bishops should have superfluities to give to the poor.

But by this text bishops should personally distribute the king's alms, not hoard or squander them.

It certainly does not sanction the retention of alms for centuries.

As a fact they minister to the needy neither themselves nor by others.

Compare the argument that Bishops should have their feet washed by the Pope.

8. ministrandum, B. 19. vite, *om.* B, C. 20. sec. apost. deb., *ord. inv.* C. 22. quod episcopi (*pro* ipsi) pocius (*add.*) debent, B. quod ipsi debent pocius (*add.*), C. 29. ministros suos, B.

Which convicts either the Pope or Bishops of sin in disobedience.

enim ipsi debent sic facere, tunc vel papa peccat non veniendo sic facere hoc ministerium vel episcopi peccant non veniendo ad ipsum ut hoc debitum ministerium compleatur.

We must allow that the clergy may receive mere fruits, if given in moderation, and for the needs of the moment.

Et sic concedi debet quod stat servari dominium in manu principalis domini secularis et genus sacerdotum per quantumcunque tempus racionabile percipere puros fructus, quia hoc verificaretur ipsis percipientibus fructus quantumcunque modicos vel per horam.

But not continuously, as at present.

Sed quod debent per totidem annos fructus percipere, ut iam de facto percipiunt, non est evidencia asinina.

We allow further that bishops living in poverty may distribute of their superfluity.

Et sic concedi debet conclusio illata ulterius, scilicet quod episcopi possunt vivere continue in paupertate ewangelica et pauperibus distribuere fideliter quod superest de elemosinis sibi datis, quia a probabili sic fecerunt apostoli, qui erant episcopi, et multi alii episcopi in illo centenario in quo vixerunt exproprietarie ante dotacionem ecclesie.

But this does not justify endowments held since the time of Silvester.

Sed quid ista conclusio ad iustificandum dotacionem vel elemosinam cleri a tempore Silvestri continue decurrentem?

Sed quia quidam qui videntur esse aliquid multum ponderant hanc evidenciam sicut sepe verum innuit, ideo aliqui C. 20 necessitantur particulatim ipsum dissolvere seriose. Assumitur ergo in evidencia cum clerici possent vivere continue in paupertate ewangelica et pauperibus fideliter distribuere quod superest de elemosinis sibi datis, quare non licet dominis sic dare suas elemosinas, exonerando se et suos posteros, et ex B. 18 parte altera licet clericis prudenter distribuere has elemosinas sicut apostoli et dyaconi perfecerunt ut patet Actuum vi°?

It is argued, why may not lords compound for their own and their descendants' alms, and why may not the clergy distribute, as did the apostles and deacons?

Hic dicitur quod hoc ideo quia clerus debet peccandi occasionem tollere et dare evidenciam aliis ad peccata mundialia fugiendum et omnino capere exemplum a Christo et suis apostolis ad ipsos in vita et moribus et pauperie imitandum. B¹. 1 Ille enim fuit finis, quare Christus vixit vitam tam pauperem

The answer is that the clergy should avoid all occasion of sin, and follow Christ.

1. episcopi, *pro* ipsi, B. 7. verificaretur *corr. al. man. in marg. ex* verificatur, B¹. 14. tercentenario, B, C. 15. tantum dotacioni, *pro* ante dotacionem, B, C. 17. decurrente, B, C. 18. quidam, B, C; quidem, B¹. ponderat, B¹, C; ponderant, B. 23. sic dare dominis, *ord. inv.* B, *sed* dominis *al. man. in marg.* 30. mortis (? morte), *pro* moribus, B, C. et, *ante* pauperie, *om.* B, C. 31. Iste, *pro* Ille, B, C.

'et. ii. 21. et penalem; iuxta hanc fidem prima Petri secundo *Christus passus est pro nobis, nobis relinquens exemplum ut sequamur vestigia eius.* Si ergo tam patens evidencia et salubris evidet clero ut sequatur vestigia antichristi, potest Christum deserere et huius dyaboli vestigia imitari. Immo iuxta istam stulticiam clerus qui vovit virginitatem potest cottidie dormire cum femina et cum hoc ab incontinencia per dei graciam preservari, quare ergo non licet clero sic facere ad meritum augmentandum. Ulterius dicitur quod superiores clerici non debent continue cum distribucionibus huiusmodi occupari ut patet ex eleccione apostolorum, qui deserentes istud ts vi. 4. officium elegerunt septem dyaconos Actuum vi°. Et Stephanus propter eius inperfeccionem officium deseruit. Que ergo religio antichristi obligaret papam, episcopos et superiores ecclesie ad tales corporales elemosinas parciendum cum spiritualis elemosina infinitum melior, scilicet ewangelii predicacio, sit a Christo et suis apostolis exemplata? Domini ergo superhabundantes diviciis possunt per fidelem 18 b. subministracionem sibi subserviencium subtiliare redditus suorum pauperum tenencium, vel alios fideles laycos ad istud officium limitare, licet non onerent ad istud abiectum officium sacerdotes, cum patet experiencia satis certa, quod ipsi sacerdotes infra tempus satis modicum peccabiliter et infideliter ministrarent. Quis ergo episcopus monachus vel alius dotatus clericus staret in isto officio cum superbia cupidine vel gulosa libidine propter purum premium pauperibus ministrandi? Et sic nostri clerici renuerunt indubie formam dyaconorum satis similem in hac parte. Nec pertinet superioribus sacerdotibus officium istud tam abiectum facere et taliter cum ipso se et suos posteros desponsare. Et quantum ad consequentem arguciam quod apostoli collegerunt fragmenta tt. xiv. xv. 37. ut dicitur Math. xiiii. et xv. quare ergo non licet episcopis

If their risking temptation is meritorious, why should they not do so as to purity?

The apostles left the distribution of alms to the deacons.

Why then should the heads of the Church distribute temporal alms instead of spiritual?

Lords should find their own almoners, not burden the clergy and tempt them to sin.

9. superiores, B, C; pauperiores, B[1]. 11. qua, *pro* qui, B. 12. ut patet Actuum, B, C. 24. episc., dot. cler. vel mon. C. 27. induere, *pro* indubie, B. 30. dispensare, *pro* desponsare, B. 31. sequentem, B, C. 32. ergo, *om.* B.

That the apostles gathered up the fragments cannot justify clerical lordship: I do not even know that they themselves distributed the fragments.

Let lords leave clergy to their proper work, and not rack tenants to endow a convent of the devil.

The unfaithful ministry of the clergy would justify the confiscation of their revenues, according to the precedent of an English king.

The king should obey Christ, and confiscate their goods, and the clergy show reason against it, if they can.

The example of Christ's poverty must outweigh the decrees of all the popes, even of John XXII.

nostris sic facere, evidencia ista plena est dolositate, quia hoc factum apostolorum non arguit quod papa vel episcopi debent taliter dominari, sed quod possunt in facto laudabili fragmenta ad pascendum * pauperes humiliter congregare, C. 21 a. nec scio ex ewangelio docere quod apostoli distribuebant fragmenta ista pauperibus, sed potuerunt, si Christus voluerit, post istam collectionem limitare egenis ut ipsa tollerent, et apostoli intenderunt interim ministerio digniori. Domini ergo seculares debent exonerare clericos ab isto vili officio et ipsos ad ewangelium, oracionem vel exercicium aliud salubrius secundum formam ewangelii limitare, et subtilient, ut supra dic- B. 18 c. tum est, redditus in suis pauperibus per ministros, et non sic extorqueant peccuniam de suis egenis tenentibus ad conventum dyaboli sic ditandum. Lapsus ergo infidelis cleri in hoc ministerio daret occasionem Christianis dominis ad hos redditus * confiscandum. Cum rex Anglie cum cleri repugnancia B[1]. 159 b. dicitur confiscasse bona episcopi quia episcopus ille noluit secundum formam ewangelii suum curatum officium regis dimittere et in sua ecclesia residere. Et re vera videtur multis quod ista vecors taciturnitas in tantum periculum regis et regni foret causa sufficiens ad confiscandum omnes redditus huiusmodi clericorum. Rex vero debet dominanter secundum formam ewangelii imitacionem domini practisare, et clerus dotatus potest, sicud sciverit, istud opus regis ex racione vel ewangelio inpugnare. Videat ergo fidelis theologus, quod clerus cupidus non deficiat in argumentis ex forma ewangelii fabricandis, et fundet se in completa similitudine, capiendo ut fidem quod Christus ab instanti sue concepcionis usque ad horam sue mortis fuit homo pauperrimus ad pauperiem suis ovibus exemplandam, et ista exemplacio debet esse preciosior quam decreta omnium paparum, eciam Iohannis 22[i], nisi in fide ewangelii sint fundata. Et pauperies in

7. coll. ist., *ord. inv.* C. 8. intenderent, C. cum ministerio, C. 11. ewang. form., *ord. inv.* C. ut subtilient, C. 24. op. ist., *ord. inv.* C. 25. igitur, *pro* ergo, C. 29. sue, *om.* B. 30. exemplandum, B.

It outweighs, too, the example of saints, whose canonisations were probably purchased.

vita apostolica est plus a fidelibus attendenda quam omnes vite episcoporum divitum vel cleri alterius, licet sompniati fuerint nunc in beatitudine residere: fides enim docet, quod apostoli pauperes sunt beati, sed non docet illud de istis divitibus, sed pocius docet practice quod canonisaciones
B. 18 d. istorum care pro pecunia erant empte. Iudas enim, quem Christus vocat filium perdicionis, adhuc in fine vite sue proiecit argenteos et sic, licet desperavit, abiit satis pauper; fratres autem videntur superare Scarioth, eo quod incollunt manentem civitatem, ac si de celesti Ierusalem desperarent, et sic vocatas elemosinas statim inpossibilitant ut iuvent pauperes vel quantumcunque fratres derelinquerant ab elemosinantibus revocentur, cum preter exemplacionem Christi faciunt sibi basilicas sumptuosas et procurant ypocritice quod maiores domini et domine in eorum basilica sint humati, ut vel sic perpetuacio habitacionis loci sui in terris per istorum sepultorum progeniem defendantur. Nec dubium quin melius foret hiis mortuis in campo inter bestias sepeliri.

The friars squander the alms given them for the poor on sumptuous buildings, and get great lords to be buried in them, so as to gain the protection of their descendants.

[1]CAPITULUM 31°.

Mend. objects:

19. MENDACIUM. Sed adhuc arguitur, si clerus sic debet deserere sua dominia, tunc ipso renuente gratis ipsa deserere debet cogi. Sed hoc non potest contingere per brachium seculare cum clerus sit potencior et ista temptacio nimis ecclesiam perturbaret. Nec hoc potest contingere per brachium spirituale, cum papa, potentissimus secularis dominus, ad oppositum est iuratus, et sui subditi in isto gratis sibi resisterent. Et confirmatur ex hoc quod papa ex universalitate

The secular arm is not strong enough to force the clergy to give up their dominions, and the Pope is sworn to maintain them.

1. att. a fid., *ord. inv.* C. 3. se nunc, C. 4. istud, *pro* illud, C. 5. fidelibus sicut, *pro* divitibus sed, C. docet pocius, *ord. inv.* C. 8. desperaverit, B. 9. incolunt hic, B, C. 11. viverent, *pro* iuvent, C; iuvent *corr. al. man. ex* viverent, B. 12. deliquerant, B. 15. sua, *pro* eorum, B. 17. defendatur, B, C.

[1] Hoc capitulum in ceteris codicibus deest.

The Pope, too, has the power of conferring kingdoms (e.g. Ireland on Henry II. and Spain on Henry of Trastamara), which no one could better exercise.

If the secular arm may disendow the clergy, *a fortiori* the clergy may disendow the secular lords, and this they should do.

sui dominii confert regna,—sic enim fertur regi anglie dedisse hiberniam et degradato uno rege hispanie alteri regi dedisse hispaniam. Quis ergo deponeret reges inhabiles et reges habiles induceret nisi papa, cum sit summus Christi vicarius et pertinet summo terreno officio hoc temptare? Nec est faciliter fingenda racio quare licet mundanis principibus auferre mundana dominia sic a clero habitualiter delinquente, quin per loco a majori licet spirituali brachio auferre secularia dominia a temporali brachio habitualiter delinquente. Et tamen hoc contigit facilius et patet major autoritas. Videtur quod docere debet pocius e converso quod clerici auferant totum seculare dominium a brachio seculari et reservent ex integro ipsum sibi.

Ver. Answers.

A beginning might be made by the clergy preaching the true doctrine, and by the secular arm granting no new endowments, and not renewing old ones when they lapse.

Again, friars and priests might be bidden on their allegiance to declare whether endowment is agreeable to the divine law, or what is the substance in the Host.

VERITAS. Ista argucia non teneret nisi per locum a simili similitudine et autoritate diaboli, ac si diabolus vellet destruere totam autoritatem ordinis Christiani, extollendo papam super omnes principes Christianos. Concedo ergo, cum cederet ad radicalem pacificacionem ecclesie, quod omnes tres ejus partes debent ad istam ordinacionem domini cum prudencia laborare: clerus monendo per evidencias fidei scripture ne cadat in heresim ex consensu; seculare brachium mortificacionem de cetero precavendo, et cum mortificacio in manus suas venerit, quod sepe contingit regi anglie, repplicacionem peccati cleri contra dominum subtrahendo. Multe autem sunt particulares prudencie ex quibus ista prevaricacio tolli poterit paulative, ut dicendo fratribus et cunctis sacerdotibus regni anglie quod sub pena legalitatis sue dicant regi et regno si ista dotacio sit consona legi divine. Vel aliter quod sub pena equivalente dicant regi et regno, ex efficaci autoritate scripture vel racione, quid in natura sua sit ipsa hostia consecrata. Tales autem sunt multi casus necessarii ad noticiam fidelis regni in quibus pater mendacii antichristum et omnes suos clericos usque hodie excecavit. Quesito autem a clero nostro publice sub eadem pena si status paupertatis honeste quem Christus docuit in verbo et opere sit perfeccior et consonancior militanti ecclesie quam

status cesarius hodie introductus, et necessitato clero ex fide precellenciam ordinacionis Christi preferre, et specialiter in diebus novissimis, mundo declinante ad avariciam et cessante clero a suo ministerio propter temporalium copiam, necesse haberet clerus sibi ipsi concludere et confiteri catholicam veritatem. Et sic cum moderata prudencia purgari posset regnum a multis erroribus sine cleri strepitu vel partis diaboli isti facinori adherentis. Sed quomodocunque sit de tali prudencia, satis est fidelibus dicere quod sic secundum legem domini debet esse. Et mirabile foret quod sic ex causa terrena regnum anglie auderet invadere multa regna et nesciret in sua patria in causa dei adquirere . . . specialiter cum Christus luce. 14° docet brachium seculare ut sibi ministret, compellendo clerum intrare in statum quem ipse instituit. Unde idem est diabolum docere antichristum suum discipulum per similitudinem istam arguere ac si sic argueret: licet seculari brachio, habenti a deo potestatem vel gladium, rebelles legi domini corporaliter cohercere; ergo per idem licet clericis pugnare corporaliter et seculares dominos potestative corripere. Sed ista insania movit papas, episcopos et sacerdotes plurimos insanire ac si sic argueret: Christus dedit seculari brachio istum gladium, ergo per idem dare debuit istum gladium prudenciori et digniori brachio sacerdotum. Et sic si Christus concessit secularibus dominis temporale dominium per idem concedere debuit illud dominium sacerdoti. Nec fundatur istud in fide scripture, nisi ut loquitur ironice Mt. 4° ex temptacione diaboli qua in temptacione 3ª temptavit Christum sacerdotem summum, promittendo sibi presumptive et false quod omnia regni mundi sibi daret si cadens ipsum adoraverit; ergo papa capitalis suus vicarius debet sic generaliter dominari et regna terrena suis servitoribus juxta suum imperium impartiri. Sed fidelis servus Christi negaret talem arguciam, de ordinacione domini contentatus. Christus enim ordinavit seculare brachium per potestatem coactivam et cohersitivam esse deitatis vicarium, dando ei gladium corporalem, et ordinavit sacerdo-

[Left margin:] b. — ce xiv. — tt. iv. 9.

[Side notes:]

If the clergy were forced to speak out, they could not deny Christ's law.

By Antichrist's argument, because the secular arm may use bodily force on rebels against the divine law, the clergy may use bodily force on the secular lords!

Or, because Christ gave the sword and temporal dominion to secular lords, they must be allowed to the clergy!

Or, because Satan lyingly offered Christ the kingdoms of the earth, the Pope has a right to rule them!

But Christ made the secular arm the Vicar of his Godhead,

the clergy of His manhood. In this the devil pretends He was wrong, and argues that if the secular arm must receive the dominion which Christ gave it from the clergy, so the clergy must receive from the secular arm the dominion which the devil usurped!

cium esse humanitatis Christi vicarium paciendo et ipsum in humilitate et tribulacionibus imitando, ut docet augustinus in loco multiplici. Sed diabolus presumit quod Christus male in hoc ordinavit, cum esse debuit e converso, et sic locus a simiali similitudine qua sic arguitur: si seculare brachium accipere debuit a clero suum dominium quod dominus sibi dedit, ergo per idem sacerdocium accipere debet a seculari brachio seculare dominium quod diabolus usurpavit. Sic, inquam, arguens est nimis patens sophista diaboli; et sic potencia cleri cesarii, ex cautela diaboli super seculare brachium invalescens, in penam peccati secularis brachii ita crevit. Ideo debet cum Christi prudencia temperari et sic cleri temporalis potencia debet cum dei sapiencia mitigari.

The wicked folly begun by the English Constantine, may in God's ordinance be overthrown by the King of England.

Et sicut dicitur constantinum anglicum istam vesaniam diabolicam presumpsisse, ita posset deus faciliter regem anglie et suum concilium ad destruccionem ejus prudentem cum spirituali juvamine ordinasse, et dare eis concilium sancti spiritus ut per medium apcius hoc attemptent. Sed satis est nobis detegere diabolicas argucias in oppositum fabricatas. Et sic si papa sit juratus ad oppositum est juratus cum diabolo contra Christum, sicut accepcio medietatis imperii fuit ex cautela diaboli usurpata. Et si pape subditi, anti-

The disciples of Antichrist must be gradually brought to the true path.

christi discipuli, in isto sibi resisterent, ubi in causa Christi ad oppositum promoverent, sunt cum Christi prudencia paulative ad veritatis tramitem inclinandi. Et deus ordinavit in isto tempore ad hoc media que diebus preteritis sunt mundo abscondita. Et quantum ad confirmacionem de facto papali dicunt quidam quod est maledicta usurpacio anti-

The precedent of detaining the Pope's tribute must be extended.

christi. Ideo sicut regnum Anglie detinuit prudenter nonagentas marcas in quibus illi inde annuatim se dicitur obligasse, sic cum prudencia poterit aliunde paci . . . amplius in nomine domini attemptare. Et sic quantum ad regnum hispanie . . : in isto presumpserit, non est aliud nisi quod

To depose kings belongs to Christ only.

diabolus ad tempus parva . . . ihm Christum. Christus 120. ergo deponit reges inhabiles per institutum suum absconditum, ideo necesse habent reges culpam suam de defendendo

legem dei justissimam suo domino confiteri, et quod papa vel antichristus sic seculariter attemptat preter Christi licenciam contra reges, ipsi debent prudenter tirannidem istam diaboli declinare et ordinacionem domini suscitare.

Christ Himself gave tribute to Cæsar.

Christus enim dedit humiliter tributum cesari et multipliciter ampliavit suum dominium, et non sibi vel suis apostolis aliquod tale dominium adquisivit.

The Pope seems, therefore, to be not Christ's Vicar, but Antichrist's.

Et sic videtur papam non esse Christi vicarium sed vicarium antichristi, cum dimisso celesti officio terrenum indebite sic attemptatur. Et sic prelati cesarii obliviscendo hortacionis humilis et sancte predicacionis Christi et suorum apostolorum usurpant potestative tirannidem antichristi, et in talibus prelatis specialiter ordinatis conversus est retrorsum et in suis filiis qui ipsos secuntur, dimittendo doctrinam Christi et sequendo vestigia antichristi. Et patet ex dictis diversitatis racio in sequenti similitudine simiali; cum spirituale brachium sit vicarius humanitatis Christi ad pacienciam et humilitatem dispositus, et seculare brachium sit vicarius divinitatis Christi ad prudentem et mitem gladium vindicte rebellis populi inclinatus. Et sic nec hoc contigit facilius nec ad hoc patet Christi autoritas, cum docuit oppositum tam in opere quam in verbis.

Christ must surely soon punish the clergy of Antichrist.

Nec dubito quin oportet antichristi clericos in brevi tempore a domino castigari. Tales sunt multe antichristi argucie, quos facile est fidelem solvere, sancto spiritu per dona sua septiformia edocente.

[1] CAPITULUM 32°.

Mend. objects: Glebe and Church are inseparable.

Mendacium. * Sed demum recensius arguunt populares quod gleba et ecclesia adeo connectuntur quod non possunt separari ab invicem, sicut nec substancia et passio vel accidens quod philosophi vocant inseparabile. Relinquat ergo sic opinans oblaciones et decimas vel acceptet simul

27. Mendacium, *om.* B^1, C, D. arg. rec., *ord. inv.* B^1, C, D. 29. ab inv. sep., *ord. inv.* B^1, C, D. sed, *pro* sicut, B^1, C, D. subiectum, *pro* substancia, B^1, C, D.

[1] De numero hujus capituli in præfatione nostra disseritur.

If restitution be made at all, the whole value of the glebe must be surrendered to the temporal lords.

Why may it not be held that each ecclesiastic is only a proctor, but that the Church as a whole holds lordship?

dotatas ecclesias, sicut sancti priores secundum leges ecclesie acceptarunt; nam contra istud remurmurans cum debet perfecte restituere quod injuste tenuit, debet valorem tocius glebe sue reddere dominis, quia aliter iuxta ficticium suum foret propter injuste tentum debitum condempnandus. Quare ergo non posset dici quod quelibet privata persona ecclesiastica sit procuratrix et non domina secularis, sed ipsa tota ecclesia militans mater nostra super omnibus bonis collatis ecclesie dominatur? Talia sunt multa sophismata antichristi per que conturbat multos simplices sacerdotes.

Ver. answers.

As to the inseparability of Church and glebe, the word Church denotes not only (i) the building, but (ii) the congregation, and (iii) the rule of the rector, which are distinct enough from the glebe. Christ and his apostles ministered without any glebe.

The faithful will not confuse the cure of souls with glebe.

VERITAS. Sed hic dicit fidelis constanter secundum doctrinam quam Christus docuit tam opere quam sermone quod clerus omnino debet vivere vitam pauperem et exproprietariam, tanquam heres regni celestis, propinquus vite innocencie, sicut Christus. Per hoc enim, quod clerus sic vivit de parte domini, differt sensibiliter a domino seculari. Et quantum ad primum objectum patet quod vocando ecclesiam ipsam basilicam vel fideles illam incolentes in diebus festivis, sive regimen rectoris ipsum populum gubernantis, satis sensibiliter differunt ipsa ecclesia atque gleba. Nec habet antichristus potenciam sic connectendi ista adinvicem quod unum non poterit ab alio separari, cum Christus et sui apostoli gesserunt curam excellencius quam nostri prepositi, licet caruerant tali gleba. Ideo istud verbum est manifestum mendacium antichristi * ubi vult glebam pro- 120 b.
ponere, ut subjectum perfeccius, et curam spiritualem postponere, tanquam accidens imperfectum, cum notum sit fideli, qui non est mundana cupidine philocaptus, quod tam ipsa basilica quam spiritualis cura animarum qualem habuit

1. legem, B^1, C, D. 4. in quam, *pro* iuxta, B^1, C, D. 9, 10. *Videtur scriba noster verba* Talia . . . sacerdotes *stolide* Mendacio *transtulisse.* 11. Veritas, *om.* B^1, C, D. hoc, *pro* hic, B^1, C, D. fides, *pro* fidelis, B^1, C, D. 16. dominio, B^1, C. 18. et, *pro* vel, B^1, C, D. 19. bene, *pro* sive, B^1, C, D. 22. cum, *pro* quod, B^1, C, D. separare, B^1, C, D. 25. proponere, *om.* B^1, C, D. 26. et glebam istam preponere, *post* postponere, *add.* B^1, C, D. 29. qualem, *om.* B^1, quam, *pro* qualem, C, D.

Christus cum suis notorie differt a gleba, sive intellecta fuerit temporale sic possessum sive ipsa dominacio super illo. Ideo rude verbum est et infidele quod mundani balbuciunt in hac parte, aliquid tamen pronosticat, scilicet quod spiritualis cura exemplata a domino est postposita, et secundum ordinacionem antichristi affeccio temporalium antecedit. Quoad secundum objectum dictum est quod curatus culpabiliter glebam hanc detinens debet deo contricione restituere, cum deus sit dominus capitalis; et occurrente opportunitate
160 d. debet satisfacere * egenis subditis quos antea defraudavit. Non tamen video quod secundum legem aliquam debet hoc restituere patrono domino seculari, cum secundum legem divinam patronatus talis non est fundabilis, et secundum legem humanam patronus talis illi curato contulit ipsam glebam. Si autem curatus recepit fructum istius glebe, respuendo dominacionem mundanam in animo, fidelis ministracio potest ipsum quoad deum et homines excusare. Hoc
76 d. tamen videtur quod fidelis curatus cum opportunitatem
24 b. habuerit debet renunciare isti dominio seculari. * Sic enim
Possidius Vita Aug. 23. narrat beatus possidonius de magistro suo beato augustino, quod rogavit cives iponences reaccipere predia que sibi antea donaverunt, sic quod posset vivere pure de elemosinis, ut vixerunt Christus et sui apostoli, vel de decimis et oblacionibus, ut vixerunt sacerdotes et levite veteris testamenti. Et licet cives ipsi istud renuerent, tamen verisimile est quod augustinus non fecit hic ut canis rediens ad priorem vomitum, sed quod vivens pure de elemosinis, ministrans hec predia pauperibus fuit de vita paupere elemosinaria contentatus. Ideo hec via non est recens, infundabilis in scriptura, cum in lege domini sit fundata. Unde dicant sic balbucientes, si sciverint, quam possessionem vel glebam

Those who do so show that they think less of the spiritual care than of its temporalities.

As to restitution, curates must make this to God as chief Lord, and, as occasion serves, to the poor they have robbed.

But not to the secular lord, who has no claim by God's law or man's.

A good curate may keep his glebe.

But must surrender it on fit occasion.

Following the example of Saint Augustine.

What possessions had the founders

2. isto, B^1, C, D. 4. prenoscitant, B^1, C, D. 11. hec, B^1, C, D. 13. *verba* divinam . . . legem, *om.* B^1, C, D. 15. illius, B^1, C, D. 17. hominem, B^1, C, D. 22. anima, *pro* antea, B^1, C, D. 23. discipuli, *pro* apostoli, B^1, C, D. 25. illud, B^1, C, D. 26. ut, *om.* B^1, C, D. 27. quod, *om.* B^1, C, D. 28. de, *om.* B^1, C, D. elemosina contentus, B^1, C, D. 30. Unde, *om.* B^1, C, D. sic, *om.* B^1, C, D.

of the new Orders?

Their followers have degenerated.

The renunciation of temporalities has thus good authority, of which many rectors also have a secret consciousness.

It is chiefly the manner of holding temporalities that is wrong, a minister may thus receive moderate offerings and tithes, so he be faithful, alike in spiritual matters and temporal.

But let him not take thought of house or barn, but only of serving God.

The uncertainty as to his tithes and offerings is of Christ's ordinance.

As to the suggestion that individual ecclesiastics are proctors, and the Church as a whole holds

habuerunt hii patroni ordinum istorum recencium, Augustinus, benedictus, dominicus, aut franciscus. Sed sicut secta Christiana deseruit pauperiem patroni sui Christi, quam hii patroni suscitasse dicuntur, licet culpabiliter et indocte, sic sequaces istorum patronorum glebam temporalium avidius acceptarunt. Et sic in patronis istis et in lege ordinacionis eterne antiqui dierum ista renunciacio est antiquata, nec solum in istis patronis et in fratribus, licet sophistice fuit continue practizata, sed multi rectores habuerunt instinctu dei ocultam sinderisim, sicut legentes utramque legem domini ex ipsa patencius vel oculcius conceperunt. Modus autem sic possidendi seculariter et quasi heredita*rie tem- **D. 77 a.** poralia est magis culpabilis quam usus eorum, et sic potest homo virtuose accipere oblaciones et decimas in mensura, dum tamen ministret fideliter ecclesie indigenti. Fideliter, dico, omnino in spiritualibus et in temporalibus dum occurret oportunitas taliter ministrandi. Nec musitet curatus ubi cubabit, vel ponet decimas, si non habuerit domum propriam * quasi hereditariam, quia cubet in meridie fervoris caritatis, **121.** sequens Christum qui sic accidenter et incognite suis apostolis dormiebat, et totam suam solicitudinem proiciat, conversando in celestibus ad beatitudinem adquirendam et de mediis serviendi deo et ecclesie ac sequendi Christum. Et non sit solicitus circa oblaciones vel decimas corporales, Christus enim ex summa sapiencia ordinavit quod curati sui careant certitudinem vel hereditatem horum temporalium ut celestibus plus anelent. Sed antichristus istum divinum ordinem dimutavit. Quantum ad tercium objectum patet quod militans ecclesia quoad 2m partem et membra ejus singula dominatur, et sic tota ecclesia secundum illam partem et hinc est imperfecta * a celestibus, et statu innocencie **B¹. 161 b.**

2. vel, *pro* aut, B¹, C, D. 8. eciam, *pro* et, B¹, C, D. 9. fuerit, B¹, C, D. instinctum, B¹, C, D. 16. deo, *pro* dico, B¹, C, D. 18. ponat, B¹, C, D. 20. sub, *pro* suis, B¹, C, D. 25. ut, *pro* quod, B¹, C, D. 26. certitudine vel hereditate, B¹, C, D. 27. illum, B¹, C, D. 28. dissimulavit, *pro* dimutavit, C, D. Et quantum, B¹, C, D. patet, *om.* B¹, C, D. 29. terciam, *pro* 2m, B¹, C, D. 31. quod in perfecta, B¹, C, D.

elongata. Limitando autem ecclesiam militantem ad clerum Christi peregrinantem in hoc seculo patet quod ab illo est secularis dominacio commode interdicta, sicut capud ejus Christus docuit tam exemplo conversacionis quam verbali doctrina. Unde clerus vivens contrarie videtur esse de sorte
[Fol. 77 b.] diaboli * sub capitaneo antichristi. Ipse autem est nuncupative capitalis dominus secularis et viventes sub suo vexillo videntur esse procuratores principis tenebrarum, qui habent hoc proprium quod non sunt illis bona ista mundana communia, cum non dividuntur singulis prout cuique opus erat, ut fratres mendicantes et possessionati alii contestantur, sed iniquissime ad contencionem magnam illius cleri hec bona sunt partita. Ideo non dubium istud sophisma diaboli, sicut multa similia, docet quomodo a parte domini sunt divisi: unde notet fidelis claustrales non solum diversorum ordinum, nec solum ejusdem ordinis diversorum domuum, sed ejusdem ordinis et domus variorum morum, et videbit quomodo temporalia sua sunt iniquissime dispartita; que omnia figurantur per scarioth qui, licet habuit capitaneum fontem gracie et tam graciosos socios, tamen ex avaricia et peccatis ceteris tantum contra dominum delinquebat. Ideo apostoli post missionem spiritus sancti non audebant talem confederacionem religionis inire, cum ecclesia debet de triplici amoris vinculo contentari. Videat ergo fidelis quod in fide scripture docetur, et illud secure teneat, et quicquid reliquum fuerit illud omittat. Ideo fideles quidam religiose sustinent quod nulla tradicio humana est acceptanda, sive papalis, sive imperialis, sive provincialis alia, nisi de quanto in lege domini est fundata. Patet ex hoc quod lex Christi est gra-

lordship, the lordship even of the second Order is an imperfection.

And such lordship is absolutely forbidden to the clergy.

Who by assuming it take Antichrist as their captain and Lord in chief,

and do not share the goods they hold of him equally.

Thus the goods of monks are unequally divided,

even among brethren of the same house.

All which is typified in Iscariot.

The apostles founded no such communities.

The faithful should hold fast by Scripture and nothing else.

So that some faithful men maintain that no papal or imperial tradition is to be accepted save as resting on Scripture.

4. vocali, *pro* verbali, B, D. 6. enim, *pro* autem, B¹, C, D. 7. capitalis, *om.* B¹, C, D. 9. sint, B¹, C, D. 10. dividunt, B¹, C, D. unicuique, B¹, C, D. 13. bona temporalia, B¹, C, D. quando *add. post* dubium, B¹; quin *add. post* dubium, C, D. 14. quin, *pro* quomodo, B¹; quod, *pro* quomodo, C, D. 15. nec, *pro* non, B¹, C, D. 17. dominia, *pro* temporalia, B¹, C, D. 18. signantur, *pro* figurantur, B¹, C, D. 20. gloriosos, *pro* graciosos, B¹, C, D. 24. quid, *pro* quod, B¹, C, D. 28. aliqua, *pro* alia, B¹, C, D.

The law of Christ is complete and sufficient for the guidance of souls. The clergy then either degenerate in accepting unfounded traditions, or, if the traditions have foundation, should go straight to their source.

vissima, * quia dei sufficientissima et completissima cuius- D. 77 c.
libet hominis directiva. Ideo clerus, qui debet illam legem cognoscere, nimis degenerat qui attendit tradicionibus aut consuetudinibus humanis in dei legibus non fundatis. Vel si fundantur implicite dei legibus clerus non degenerans debet aquam fontalem illius sapiencie de fonte illo omnino habiliori accepere, et aquam stagnalem humanam postponere. Et servato illo modo laudabili purificaretur lex dei et purgaretur ecclesia ab istis erroribus per diabolum introductis.

CAPITULUM 33ᵐ.

Video quod adversarius noster non movet efficaciter pro 114 b.
parte sua racionibus vel scriptura, sed pocius irritat socios et contendit; nos autem talem consuetudinem non habemus, sicut nec ecclesia dei, ut docet paulus [1ª] Cor. [2º]. Ideo I Cor. i
dimissis omnibus tradicionibus hominum vocatis legibus, et dictis scriptorum sequencium, que nec in fide scripture nec in racionibus sunt fundata, videtur quod in fine veritas catholica cum silencio sit loquenda.

Before treating of the commerce of priests and simony we must see what is buying and selling.

Sed primo pro declaracione dictorum de commercio sacerdotum et de simonia cum aliis commerciis hodie usitatis, videndum est quid sit emere et vendere. Et videtur quod ipsum sumptum analogice * sit unam rem pro alia voluntarie commutare; et B. 19 a.
intelligo terminos analogice modo quo dicitur deum vendere beatitudinem et promerentem de congruo ipsam emere. Et isto modo videtur deum loqui ys 55º. *Venite et emite absque* Is. lv. 1.
* *argento et absque ulla commutacione vinum et lac.* Et sic B¹. 159

Buying is the acquisition, and

intelligendo commercium commune ad empcionem et vendicionem videtur quod empcio sit personam ementem facere

4. in dei, C, D. 6. animo, *pro* omnino, B¹, C, D. 16. scripturarum, B, B¹. 17. fundate, B¹, C. fide, *pro* fine, B¹. 20. est, *om.* B, B¹, C. 22. voluntarie, *om.* B¹, C. 24. congrue, *pro* de congruo, B¹, C.

aliquid esse suum, et vendicio sit personam vendentem facere suum esse persone ementis. Et sic deus analogice vendit beatitudinem, quia facit ipsam esse persone de congruo promerentis; et promerens emit beatitudinem, quia facit ipsam ex commutacione cum domino esse suam. Et sic commutacio intelligi potest dupliciter; primo modo proprie pro commutacione substancie quantum ad proprietatem possessionis, modo quo emens bovem commutat argentum vel aliud precium pro eodem (et isto modo videtur isayam loqui de commutacione in autoritate proposita, cum deus non potest mutari, nec aliquid substancie vel nature ementis beatitudinem perditur ab emente); 2° modo laxius pro commutacione cujuscunque rei substancie vel racionis, modo quo respectus et alie veritates dicuntur res, et sic beatificatus, licet habeat deum pro substancia sue beatitudinis, habet tamen sibi propriam beatitudinem respectivam. Et sic commutat suum meritum ex dei gracia pro eadem. Et sic duplex videtur commercium; primum verum a deo tanquam principali vendente racionabiliter approbatum: secundum est commercium fantasticum sive falsum, et illud fit a diabolo tanquam capitaliter commercante, et illo modo omnis commercacio symoniaca sive illicita dicitur commercium a domino de-
19 b. acceptum. * Istis premissis videtur mihi quod sacerdos potest licite cum suo corporali labore et mercede sensibili commercari, sed quod vendat suam oracionem vel meritum est racioni contrarium, quia valor sue oracionis vel meriti est supra suam possessionem in manu dei. Et sic quicunque vendunt beneficia ecclesiastica, vel literas fraternitatum aut meriti videntur commercari cum diabolo et contra deum
5. * blasfemare, cum fingunt se vendere quod deo est proprium. Ideo ne sacerdos incidat in istam blasfemiam videtur secu-

selling the transference, of property in any article.

God may thus analogically be said to sell bliss to a person deserving it *de congruo*, and he to buy it.

Barter may be understood in two ways:

(i) strictly, of exchange in possession, while the thing remains unchanged, as man receives bliss, that is God, while God remains unchanged, and man loses nothing of his nature.

(ii) loosely, when there is a change in the thing, or in its mode of being, as when merit by God's grace is exchanged for bliss.

All simoniacal barterings are of the second class, and in these the devil is chief trafficker.

A priest may traffic in his labour and in sensible things; but not in his prayers or merit, the worth of which rests with God.

To sell benefices, letters of fraternity or merit is devil's traffic.

Priests should therefore accept

8. argentum vel, *om.* B, B[1], C. 11. nature, *om.* B, B[1], C. 12. capitur laxius, B, B[1], C. 18. unum *al. man. in marg. pro* verum, B[1]; et unum, *pro* verum, C. 20. fatuum vel falsum, B. 21. isto, B, B[1], C. 22. deo, *pro* domino, B, C. 25. videtur esse, *pro* est, B, B[1], C. 28. beneficia sua, B, B[1], C. 29. meriti *corr. ex* merita, B; merita, B[1].

food and clothing only as alms; and patrons confer benefices only as such. Remembering that the alms are not theirs, but God's and the people's. In presenting to a benefice the patron should look to God for the reward of profit to the Church. The signs of the present system are the signs of an adulterous generation. Consecration of bodies and places by bishops, letters of fraternity, priests' bargainings for masses have no Scripture authority, but free and useful labour has.

rum quod dicat in principio ipsum velle accipere alimenta et tegumenta pure titulo elemosyne, et velle e contra * quantum C. 22 deus acceptaverit in sacerdotali officio laborare. Et sic videtur quod papa vel patronus alius conferens beneficium ecclesiasticum debet pure ex titulo elemosine ad expressum spirituale curati officium limitare; et in principio convenire quod accipienda elemosina non est sua, sed dei et populi reverendi; ideo sine retribucione corporali reddenda sibi exspectat a deo premium, ut beneficiatur sincere et spiritualiter prosit ecclesie. Et multa talia signa sacerdotum et novorum ordinum hodie introducta videntur esse signa generacionis adultere et non a domino approbata. Et hec racio quare consecraciones corporum vel locorum per episcopos usitate, litere fraternitatum et alie commutaciones sacerdotum pro consecracione eucaristie in lege domini non fundantur, sed labor liber et utilis, modo quo foret in statu innocencie; et commercia secularia sunt prope periculum propter fraudem. Qui ergo haberet istam sentenciam clare discussam posset de simonia et aliis commerciis illicitis * atque beatitudinis B. 19 meritis clare loqui. B[1]. 15

CAPITULUM 34[m].

Every one is bound to help the Church. The clergy by argument. Lords by restraining the Church's enemies and withdrawing alms from them.

VERITAS. Restat videre quibus personis ecclesie pertinet practizare et juvare in sentencia supradicta, et patet absque dubitacione quod quelibet persona militantis ecclesie debet juvare matrem suam pro illa sentencia modo suo: ut clerici racionibus et scripture testimonio arguendo ac responciones diabolicas repellendo; domini temporales inimicos ecclesie cohercendo, et tam in se quam in suis tenentibus vocatas elemosinas ab inimicis domini subtrahendo, quia aliter contra deum cum suis hostibus proditorie consentirent, et tercia

6. et sic, B, B[1], C. 15. et pro, B, B[1], C. 18. discussam, *om.* B, B[1], C.

pars ecclesie, scilicet laboratores et alii cum bonis temporalibus commercantes debent in hoc duabus partibus prioribus in temporalibus secundum racionis limites ministrare. Et si tota multitudo viancium concurreret simul in isto proposito, facile foret partem diaboli confutare. Ymmo cum in deo jacet auxilium, specialiter in hoc puncto, quilibet viator debet oracione vel merito, sicut beati faciunt, adjuvare. Unde quia dampnati non juvant in isto sed reprobant non merentur sed peccando continue faciunt ut non debent. Auxilium autem magis sensibile in hoc puncto stat in dominis secularibus, et clerici debent ipsos ad hoc secundum raciones et leges domini excitare. Cum autem cederet ad comodum sensibile tercie partis ecclesie ipsa non remurmuraret, sed de cessacione a spoliacionibus congauderet, et specialiter si perciperet de tendencia ad beatitudinem conformiter legi dei. Unde in b. ista materia patenter discerni * possunt fideles Christi a discipulis antichristi. Clerici quidem cesarii, qui mundum 3 b. sapiunt et intendunt artibus * lucrativis, materiam istam despiciunt et ejus tractatum impediunt quantum sciunt, et d. pauci * sunt ex parte domini qui istam fidem defendunt vel alios simplices in hoc juvant. Sed quedam consolacio est quod necesse est dominum et cives suos juvare finaliter partem suam. Si autem episcopi et clerici cesarii et cum illis claustrales, ut abbates et alii dotati prepositi, conciperent in hoc vitam et legem Christi et sic gratis renunciarent omnibus mundanis dominiis foret illis magis meritorium et gloriosus triumphus ecclesie militantis super diabolum et alia membra sua. Non solum enim clerici cesarii sed sui complices seculares domini in hoc puncto consenciunt anti-
xi. 23. christo. Et cum juxta dictum Christi luce 11º *Qui non est mecum contra me est* totus mundus dividitur in hoc puncto, ideo domini temporales et omnes viantes sunt hortandi ne consenciant diabolo in hac parte, quia certum est ex fide quod pars adversa in die judicii obmutescet. Ista autem

Labourers by ministering to these two orders in things temporal.

Everyone should help by his prayers.

The secular lords can give most aid, and the clergy should stir them to this.

The third order would rejoice both for temporal and spiritual reasons.

This matter shows who are Christ's disciples and who Antichrist's.

The worldly among the clergy oppose the truth, and there are few on Christ's side to defend it.

But God must defend His own in the end.

If the endowed clergy would renounce secular dominion, it would be a glorious triumph over the devil.

Lords must be warned not to be on the devil's side in this matter.

1. laborantes, *pro* laboratores, B, B¹, C. 7. racione, *pro* oracione, B, B¹, C.

sentencia non est ficta sed fides ecclesie, cum oportet omnes homines salvandos esse Christi milites et ab eo accipere stipendium largissimum, quia in beatitudine omne bonum. Et antichristi milites degenerantes a Christo vecorditer oportet in tartaris condempnari.

CAPITULUM 35^{m}.

The secular dominion of the clergy has gradually progressed, and is now regarded as sanctioned by God.

VERITAS. Ista cleri dominacio fuit paulative ex cautela diaboli per mille annos et amplius introducta, et per processum temporis fuit continue plus et plus in secularitate hominum confirmata, in tantum quod hodie censetur * natu- B^{1}. 160
ralitas a domino consecrata. Olym enim fuit notum ut fides quod Christus fuit homo pauperrimus, et virtute sui mandati apostoli et discipuli consequentes, qui omnes seculare dominium tanquam magis periculosum fuerant detestati. Sed

Cæsar was first persuaded that as he excelled other secular lords, so his priest, the Roman pontiff, should excel all other priests.

captato tempore seduccionis populi, diabolus movebat cesarem quod sicut ipse excellebat alios seculares * dominos, sic B. 200
sacerdos suus, quem vocat romanum pontificem, debet excellere quoslibet alios sacerdotes. Et tunc dicitur vocari papa et pater sanctissimus, et suaderi potest istud peccatum ex

Hence arose the plea that the Pope should help Cæsar, borne down by the weight of dominion.

ipocrisi per diabolum machinata; cesar et alii seculares domini per seculare dominium in animo sunt oppressi, sed spirituale opus misericordie foret oppressos hujusmodi relevare, ideo papa debet specialiter juvare dominum suum

For did not the deacons help the apostles?

cesarem onus terreni dominii supportando. Sic enim apostoli elegerunt septem diaconos qui eos a mensarum ministerio excusarunt et ad predicacionem evangelii et oracionem ac contemplacionem, que est officium alcius, libertarunt. Papa

3. beatitudinem, *pro* in beatitudine, B, B^{1}, C. 7. Veritas, *om.* B, C. 9. *verba* processum . . . secularitate, *om.* B, B^{1}, C. 10. hominem, B, B^{1}, C. naturaliter, B^{1}, C. 13. omne, B^{1}, C. 15. capto, B, B^{1}, C. 23. juvare, *om.*, *sed. al. man. in marg.* hortari, B; in hoc facto relevare, *pro* juvare, B^{1}. 24. ut ipsum exoneret, *ante* onus, *add.* B, C, *sed* B *al. man. in marg.* 26. eos ad, B, B^{1}, C. 27. libertarent, B, B^{1}.

ergo qui habet scienciam a deo et potestatem a petro scit
16. optime regere romam * et medietatem imperii conformiter legi Christi. Unde particulares dotaciones vocate sunt elemosine perpetue, licet papale dominium vocetur, quasi jure hereditario, patrimonium crucifixi. Et postmodum magister istius ipocrisis docuit scolam suam quod superiores prelati reservent sibi quedam officia specialia que sonent in dominium et lucrum sacramenta et sacramentalia ministrandi, cujusmodi sunt plene absoluciones, generales excommunicaciones et censure alie, ac potestates, privilegia et dispensaciones cunctis mortalibus parciende, ut quod episcopi habeant confirmaciones, ordinum collaciones et locorum consecraciones sibi specialiter limitatas, et alii prelate incedant cum mitris vel anulis secundum quod placuerit illi patri. Et deus
20 b. scit si intercedat zelus magisterii vel appetitus * lucri pro istis privilegiis optinendis. Et sic, quasi ut legem nature similem, introduxit diabolus quod necesse est papam et prelatos alios taliter prepollere. Et totum istud est falsitas ipocritica infundabilis et religioni Christi contraria, per quam ecclesia militancium est seducta. Et nota evidencias que fiunt pro ista sentencia et videbis manifeste quod vel deficiunt in fundamentis apocrifis vel aliis falsitatibus simulatis, vel 2º deficiunt in consequenciis ex veritate fidei impertinens concludendo. Ideo fama et consuetudo inveterati erroris est locus potissimus ad istud peccatum ecclesie confirmandum. Et sic ut diabolus pervertit sacerdotes suos a Christi pauperie ad seculare dominium, sic pervertit eos ab humilitate, ab evangelica predicacione et quocunque alio ministerio quod Christus injunxerat sacerdoti. Et decidentibus superioribus partibus ecclesie ab isto ministerio regulari, necesse est magnam partem ecclesie in membra diaboli transformari.

The Pope surely knows best how to rule Rome.

Thus while particular endowments are called 'perpetual alms, the papal dominion is the 'patrimony of the crucified,' as of hereditary right.

Then the higher prelates were led to reserve certain lucrative functions to themselves.

And so the devil introduced the doctrine of the necessary preponderance of pope and bishops.

These ill customs have no good foundation.

In seducing priests from poverty the devil has seduced them from every ministry of Christ's ordinance

1. Petri, *pro* a petro, B[1], C. 5. magister B, B[1], C., *sed cod. nost.* magisterio. illius, *pro* istius, B[1], C, illius *corr. in* huius, B. 10. et privilegia, B, B[1], C. 11. percipiendi, *pro* parciende, B; parciendi, B[1], C. ipsi, *pro* episcopi, B, B[1], C. 13. ut, *pro* alii, B. 17. aliis prepollere, B, B[1], C. 19. legi *corr. al. man. in* religioni, B; legi, B[1], C. 22. ypocriticis, *pro* apocrifis, B, B[1], C.

CAPITULUM 36m.

The obligation of poverty on the clergy being proved, all the three orders must beware of their peril. Lords should tell the clergy 'we will not be damned for your sake.'

'If we continue enriching you we are condemned beyond excuse.'

'We are therefore willing to relieve you of your burdens.'

'And this, not for a thousand years, but till you can show that you ought to hold property.'

The clergy cannot complain if the lords, after a thousand years of alms, give them seven years

Cum ista sentencia sit tam multipliciter confirmata quod clerus debet servare pauperiem evangelicam instar Christi et apostolorum, sicut patet ex fide duplicis testamenti, et in contrario jacet tantum periculum tam futurum in anima quam temporale sensibile pro presenti, quelibet trium parcium ecclesie, sed specialiter temporales domini, debent istud periculum evitare, et primo in communi interloquio dicere istis prelatis cesariis quod nolunt propter amorem eorum, ymmo pocius propter eorum odium condempnari: * et dictum est **B. 20 c.** illis a catholicis quod si continuant in isto facinore clerum sic contra Christi regulam ditando, et non fructuose de ista stulticia penitendo, tunc sunt inexcusabiliter condempnandi, nec experimentum vel humana noticia de prosperitatibus vel aliis mundialibus docet oppositum: ideo volunt exonerare clerum de istis dominiis, sicut clerici fingunt se exonerasse per tempus brachium seculare: non dicunt quod per mille annos sed per septem vel tantum temporis in quanto clare doceant quod ista vita cleri sit fundata ex lege Christi et non cedat seculari brachio in periculum * animarum. Et videtur **C. 23 b.** quod istud sit racionabile cum tam clerus quam brachium seculare debet memorare solicite illud quod tantum concernit salutem sue anime; et tam opera Christi quam sua doctrina videntur illis expresse sonare in istam sentenciam. Clerus autem contra ipsam remurmurans in hoc innuit ipsum reum. Quomodo, rogo, domini temporales continuarent hoc opus misericordie per mille annos et clerici ipsum per tantum temporis acceptarunt, et tamen clerici remurmurarent quod

3. paupertatem, B, B¹, C. 6. temporale, *om.* B, B¹, C. 12. reg. Christi, *ord. inv.* B, B¹; legem Christi, C. dotando, C. 14. neque, *pro* nec, B; neque enim, B¹, C. 16. istis, *om.* B, B¹, C. 18. per tantum, B¹, C. 19. fundata, *om.* B, B¹, C. 20. in, *om.* B, C. 22. tantum, *al. man.* B; *om.* B¹, C. 28. cum, *corr. ex* tamen, B; tamen, *corr. ex* cum, B¹; cum, C.

per septem annos domini temporales exonerarent eos in quo tempore vivere possent facilius et conformius legi Christi! Numquid plus consonat racioni et fidei scripture quod domini temporales subeant istud onus quam quod clerus Christi sit per ipsum a Christi ministerio impeditus? Fratres volunt in isto puncto saltem ex sua professione et regula pro racionabilitate dictorum dominorum temporalium attestari. Et ista commutacio videtur posse prodesse cuilibet trium parcium
. 20 d. ecclesie militantis. Prodesset enim * clero cum ipsum poneret in numero et mensura quem deus disposuit, et excussis aliis secularibus officiis et vitis pompaticis, clerum ad officium assignatum a Christo pure et integre limitaret. Prodesset 2° brachio seculari. Dimitto autem profectum sensibilem mundialem et considero profectum alium spiritalem, scilicet quod domini temporales non tunc necessitarentur indebitare se tercie parti ecclesie, nec esse suis tenentibus, ut dicitur modo, dotatos claustrales et alios onerosi. Quando enim innaturale dominium diabolice introducitur plus vexat subditos quam dominium a domino limitatum. Ideo creditur quod domini temporales forent plus misericordes et plus suis tenentibus graciosi quam clerici, qui contra Christi monita sunt dotati. Et sic
[1], 160 c. prosperaretur tercia pars ecclesie tam in corporalibus * quam in spiritualibus. Et totum corpus ecclesie foret secundum legem domini temperatum. Unde videtur quibusdam quod ille est infidelis domino, et cuicunque parti ecclesie tanquam proditor atque hereticus, qui isti sentencie contradicit. Rogo deum quod moveat cunctas tres partes ecclesie ut veritati fructuose consenciant in hac parte. Explicit speculum ecclesie militantis.

of poverty in conformance with Christ's law.

The friars may be applied to, to support the duty of poverty.

All three orders will be benefited.

The clergy, by being brought under Christ' rule.

The lords, by being relieved from the need of oppressing labourers.

The labourers, by having better masters.

God grant that the three orders may unite in adherence to the truth in this matter.

5. idem, *pro* ipsum, B, B[1]; illud, C. 14. spiritualem, B, B[1], C. 17. onerosos, B, B[1], C. 21. hii clerici, B[1], C. 26. Rogo igitur, B, B[1]; Rogo ergo, C. 27. istas, *pro* cunctas, B, C. veritati, *om.* B[1]. 28. *post* parte *seq.* Cui honor et imperialis potestas per infinita secula seculorum. Amen etc. (*tunc lit. rub.*) Correctus est anno domini M°CCCC°XIIII° post festum Georgii feria sexta, B. Explicit Dyalogus Magistri Johannis Wic. B[1]. Et sic est finis tractatuli M. Jo. W. scilicet dyalog.

EPILOGUS.

RESTAT finaliter perstringere totam istam sentenciam sub quodam epilogo, ut plus clareat ad honorem dei et utilitatem

Church and clergy should live in honest poverty as Christ ordained.

cleri, per consequens tocius ecclesie militantis. Intendimus enim, quod hec ecclesia, et specialiter clerus, in paupertate honesta secundum ducatum domini reguletur ad quod requiritur secundum providenciam ordinacionis legis Christi. Quod

Both Testaments and Christ's teaching alike require clergy to renounce secular dominion.

renunciet finaliter dominio seculari, patet ex testimonio duplici et interpretacione Christi, tam vita quam verbo, que interpretacio nec potest directe fallere neque falli. Argucie autem que fiunt in oppositum non forent digne memoria

It is argued that for the good of souls Lords have given clergy ample possessions to which their title is secured by prescription. To rob them would hurt both dead and living, and the peace of the kingdom.

nisi propter infidelem ignoranciam cecatorum. Arguitur enim communiter quod domini temporales concesserunt clero, ad sui * et progenitorum suorum meritum et honorem, B¹. 161 b. amplos redditus temporales, et clerus erat in possessione pro tempore infra quod currit prescripcio. [Nemo] ergo dirimeret * vel machinaretur dirimere illud donum nisi qui D. 77 d. minoraret salutem tam animabus vivis quam mortuis, quam eciam prosperitatem et pacem regnorum. Sed quis hoc intendit nisi fuerit antichristus? Quantum ad istam argu-

Answer—it cannot profit souls to perpetuate their mistakes.

ciam dictum est sepe quod militat dirrecte pro veritate catholica supradicta, cum racio capta ex fide testatur quod error contrarius legi dei, temptatus per progenitores et defensatus per superstites, neutri parti proficit ad salutem, sed officit gravando peccatum, et specialiter quo ad salutem

4. et per, C, D. 10. ducem, *pro* directe, C. 11. formantur, *pro* fiunt, D. 16. Nemo, *om.* B¹, C, D. diminueret, *pro* dirimeret, C. 17. diminuere, *pro* dirimere, C. dominium, *pro* donum, C, D. 20. intendet, C, D.

25 b. anime in beatitudine possidenda. * Et quantum ad prosperitatem et pacem mundanam patet quod disponit ad istam de quanto superstites racionabiliter † peccatum legi dei contrarium, cum nemo ipsas appeteret nisi de quanto sunt disposiciones prosperitatis et pacis patrie inductive.

Earthly peace is valuable only as leading to the peace of heaven.

Scimus tamen quod dyabolus ex naturali potencia et innata malicia potest in penam peccati prioris sophisticare pacem et prosperitatem seculi, que saluti anime sunt nocive et per consequens ipsi homini quantum ad beatitudinem acquirendam.

The devil can produce a deceitful earthly peace, hurtful to the soul.

Et verisimile est quod dyabolus temptaret istam prosperitatem et pacem sensibilem quantum sufficit, et inter viantes destrueret, ad finem quo impediat ne fideles exequantur et compleant legem ordinacionis divine; sic enim cognoscimus ex ewangelio quod dyabolus ex sompno perturbavit uxorem Pilati, timens quod mors Christi cederet fidelibus ad salutem.

And is likely to try to produce it in order to hinder the faithful,

as he tried to prevent the death of Christ.

Sed fidelis, et specialiter * 78 a. attemptans hoc opus ewangelicum, debet supra opinionem et cautelas dyaboli fundari in solliditate fidei scripturarum, et tunc non debet cessare propter eventus tales dyabolicos, quia aliter ipsi solliditatem fidei superarent, quod convincerent indubitanter defectum fidei in vecordi taliter obmittenti.

The faithful must have their root in scripture, so that they may not faint at what the devil may bring about.

Et patet quod hec stulta dotacio, sicud non potest esse meritoria preteritis vel presentibus, licet multum boni faciat sed non tantum quantum † sic non potest currere efficax et salubris prescripcio coram deo.

As endowments cannot be meritorious, so there can be no prescription valid with God.

Quia ut dicunt de privilegiis regis Anglie, quod sit semper iuxta etatem potens iustificare iniuriam prius factam, sic authonomatice est de deo, cum ex fide concessit deus libertatem hominibus, quamdiu manent hic superstites, quod possunt in quocunque peccaverint deo satisfacere et pro crimine emendari, nisi fuerint in peccato illo finaliter indurati.

Just as an English king may always redress a previous wrong, so God allows men, unless finally hardened, to make satisfaction for their sins.

Dyabolus sic arguens innuit quod proceres regni nostri sunt sicut clerici, et specialiter superiores prelati, in isto crimine dyabolice indurati. Sed excuciamus cordate

The devil would make out that the nobles *are* hardened, like the higher prelates.

1. possidendam, C, D. 5. patrie, *om.* C. 11. destruere, D. 13. Sicud *pro* sic, B[1], C, D. 18. Cessare, C, D; Cesari, B[1]. 23. antequam, *pro* tantum quantum, D.

Defence of Christ's law best shows love to Christ, without which we are anathema.

istas fraudulentas sophisticaciones dyaboli et agamus viriliter ad defensionem legis et restitucionem ordinacionis domini Jesu Christi, quia ex fide viantes non sufficiunt sibi ostendere hic plus amoris, et secundum apostolum anathema incurrit qui non amaverit dominum Jesum Christum. * Et B^1.161 patet studenti solucio ad formam et materiam argumenti. * D.78b

Second argument—(a) God Himself cannot undo the past, but the endowment is long past.

(b) to undo it would discredit charters and ruin lords.

(c) to deny the lords' power to grant is to impugn their full ownership.

Secundo sic arguitur: illud quod transiit in preteritum non potest dirimi, cum secundum philosophos illo deus privatur de preterito facere non preteritum. Sed, ut testatur homo et carte regum et secularium dominorum, diu transiit in preteritum quod ecclesia fuerat sic dotata. Quis ergo vel deus illud preteritum dirimere potest? Per idem enim non facerent fidem carte de humanis redditibus, seculares domini de ruina sui dominii forent desolati. Et dicens quod non licet secularibus dominis istud concedere innuit quod non sunt pleni domini bonorum que possident. Confirmatur tripliciter, primo per hoc quod magna carta regis testatur quod rex cum unanimi consensu regni sui concessit clero suo privilegium, ad cuius defensionem rex in principio sue coronacionis specialiter est iuratus, et excommunicaciones tam trans mare quam cis mare in omnes infringentes hoc pri- C.26a vilegium fulminantur. Secundo confirmatur per hoc quod multi sancti et canonisati ab ecclesia in defensione huius privilegii obierunt. Ideo ergo foret privilegium illum destruere subvertere totam ecclesiam. Tercio confirmatur per hoc quod papa, qui est caput universalis ecclesie, tam facto quam scripto confirmat multipliciter istud factum.

These arguments are confirmed (i) by Magna Charta.

(ii) by the deaths of many saints in their defence.

(iii) by the authority of the pope, the head of the universal church.

Answer.—(a) Men have power to amend their wrong-doings.

Ad istud dictum est alibi quod hoc principale argumentum sentenciat quod nemo potest pro culpa sua satisfacere cum peccaverit, cum sicut homo potest cessare ab errore quem inchoaverit, pro delicto satisfacere quod commiserat, sic in proposito possunt * reges et domini temporales; in cuius D.78c

2. non. suff. vian., *ord. inv.* C, D. ex fide, *post* sibi *add.* B^1. 7. diminui, *pro* dirimi, C. 9. et, *ante* secularium, *om.* C, D. 14. habet, *pro* licet, C. 16. tripliciter, primo, *om.* C. 18. cor. sue, *ord. inv.* C, D. 22. defensione, D, defessione, B^1. 23. priv. illum dest. foret, *ord. inv.* C, D. 31. seculares, *pro* temporales, C, D.

For which we have the example of Solomon.

confirmacionem rex sapiens Salomon ad pacificacionem regni sui deposuit summum sacerdotem et alium licenter
1 Kings ii. 7.
instituit, ut patet ex fide scripture 3 Reg. 3º. Ista ergo que ibi scripta sunt ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt. Non petimus quod deus vel rex faciat illum errorem non fuisse preteritum, sed quod pro futuro corrigat ne continuetur amplius ad dampnum ecclesie contra deum. Et quantum ad cartas dicunt fideles reges cognoscere quod non possunt per ipsas vel aliter quidquid licenter concedere nisi habita ad hoc licencia dei, qui est dominus capitalis. Hoc autem exemplatum est in humanis legibus; sed demonstrari potest ex fide certissime quod hoc de deo oportet catholicum sustinere. Ideo non superest cleri sufficiens excusacio in hac parte, nisi ostenderit ad hoc licenciam huius domini capitalis. Aliter enim non rex terrenus blasfemias tales secundum legem suam requireret, et de deo, in quo est causa vivacioris fidei, hoc negaret. Sed certi sumus ex fide quod persona verbi, que est deus et non mutatur, non potest licenciam talem concedere, quia non potest esse sibi ipsi contrarius vel dare licenciam ad peccandum. Et quantum ad istam simul finalem arguciam per locum a simili, constat quod aliud est ius poli faciendo elemosinam, et aliud ius soli concedendo hereditatem terrenam. Et licet seculares domini non sunt
D. 78 d.
plene in hereditatibus talibus confir*mati, tamen possunt habere evidenciam supra dubium quod habent tales hereditates pro se et suis heredibus, specialiter dum ipsas rexerint conformiter legi dei et fideliter dederint deo servicium debitum, quod stat potissime in defensione et servicio legis sue. Et quantum ad plenitudinem dominii certum est fide quod ad plenitudinem divini dominii non possunt attingere, nec deus wult tale dominium eis concedere, nisi sub condicione tacita vel expressa quod serviant sibi fideliter et per idem servicium
B¹. 161 d.
fiant * digni. Quantum ad primam confirmacionem dicitur

We do not ask God or king to undo past errors, but to correct them for the future.

(*b*) As to charters, kings can grant nothing save by leave of the Chief Lord.

And this leave the clergy must show.

Which is impossible, as God does not contradict Himself.

(*c*) The heavenly law as to alms differs from the earthly law of inheritance.

Lords have clear evidence as to their rights, especially while they serve God.

But their ownership must be subject to God's.

2. Abyatar, *add. post* sacerdotem, C. 6. caveat, *pro* corrigat, C, D. 9. nec, *pro* nisi, B¹. 20. fin. sim., *ord. inv.* C, D. 22. fori, *pro* soli, C, D. 26. cum, *pro* dum, B, C. 27. deo, *om.* C.

As to the confirmations— (i) Magna Charta is only to be defended as it accords with Christ's law, but, rightly construed, the privileges it upholds are the privileges of following Christ.

quod oportet hanc magnam cartam sane intelligere. Et licet non intendimus nec sufficimus hanc cartam ex integro defendere tanquam fidem, cum unum ex fide capimus, quod non valet, nec servari debet, nisi de quanto consonat legi dei, quia aliter foret contraria fidei, quod omnis fidelis debet horrere. Sed quia nostrum non est illud supponere, ideo possumus sanum intellectum supponere * huic carte et ipsam C. 26 b. ad nostrum propositum retorquere. Non enim supponimus quod in carta predicta vocentur privilegia cleri Anglie que sunt ad detrimentum eius contraria legi Christi, quia sic forent privilegia abolenda. Cum igitur Christus et sui apostoli habuerunt a deo hec privilegia quod vivant pauperem vitam et humilem cum aliis promoventibus ad hanc vitam, absit in ista carta solempni supponere, quod deus, concitor eius, voluit in hac carta privilegia contraria istis intelligi. Et cum rex et regnum iurati sunt ad sensum catholicum huius carthe, videtur quod ex vi iuramenti sui tenentur * dictum D. 79 a. sensum eius catholicum defendere, et sic hec evidencia redit ad sensum catholicum quem ex fide scripture intendimus. Cayfas enim dicens quod expedit unum hominem mori pro populo ignoranter salubrem sentenciam prophetavit. Sic autem videtur quibusdam quod, dum illa carta fuerit fideliter assecuta, ex eius fideli sentencia clerus Anglie foret ad statum quem Christus instituit restitutus. Nec aliter videtur quod rex et eius proceres cum suis episcopis evaderent periurium in hac parte. Et conformiter dicitur quod intelligende sunt excommunicaciones in illa materia. Infidele quidem foret vertere in hac carta significaciones terminorum contra veritatem sensus scripture, vocando pravas leges privilegia * que privant clerum de gracia et inducunt ipsum in maximam servitutem. Ad secundam confirmacionem dictum est sepius quod sic arguens similis est stulto desperanti de sua causa, lambenti aquam turbidam, currenti in paludibus,

A faithful interpretation of the Charter would restore the clergy to the state Christ ordained.

1. Sane int. . . . hanc cartam, *om.* C. 3. defensare, C. 9. vocent, C, D. 16. regnum, C, D; regni, B[1]. 19. in, *pro* ad, D. 23. ad statum, C, D. 30. vel vocare cartas tales privilegia, *add.* C, D.

(ii) As to the witness of Saints, it is absurd to reject Christ's for theirs.

ubi posset facilius de fonte vivo bibere aquam claram, modo quo loquitur propheta huic proposito pertinenter. Consuetudo autem Christi est infringibilis, summe facilitatis et auctoritatis, et post ipsum apostolorum consuetudo currens in claris rivulis ab hoc fonte. Sed ipsas stultus hic arguens dimittit et capit remotas consuetudines tanquam aquas stacionarias ex luto et ardore terrenorum infectas. Et talis secundum doctrinam prophete est nimis stultus, negligens in hiis que concernunt salutem anime. Quis ergo dubitat quin talis peccat non mediocriter qui dimittit consuetudinem
. 79 b. summe autenticam * et salubrem et innititur consuetudini corrupte condicionis contrarie, dum priorem consuetudinem facilius securius et melius posset accipere? In illa autem stulticia sunt taliter arguentes, quia dum arguunt per argumentum topicum sive probabile, nesciunt si assumant con-
. 27 a. swetudinem * huius dyaboli pro exemplo; sicut enim sacrificium in lege veteri a tempore Moysi usque Cayfam et Annam, qui Christum occiderant, fuit continue in peiorari, sic sacrificium in lege gracie a Christo et suis apostolis per cupidinem mundanorum continue fuit debilius, sic quod hodie possunt sacerdotes dicere evidencius quod descenderunt a principio generis Scariothis, qui pro 30ª argenteis vendidit veritatem, quam quod descendunt a paupere domino Jesu Christo, quia similitudo maior hoc indicat esse verum. Nos autem occidui Machometi qui sumus pauci inter fideles ecclesie, credimus quod ad nostrum iudicium reguletur et contremit totus mundus, cum tamen plures sunt sapientes Greci vel longe plures
. 162 a. * fideles Indii, qui tenent consuetudinem nobis oppositam in hac parte. Ideo conswetudo vel opinio nichil probat vel innuit nisi de quanto fundata fuerit in consuetudine salvatoris. Cum ergo nostri occidui, quantumcunque magni in sapiencia vel sanctitate elevati fuerint, non attingunt in hoc ad fidem scripture, vel vix attingunt argumentum topicum, quod sapienter fuerant sive sancti. Cum ergo in omni genere sit

As the priests of the Old Law, so those of the New, have continually deteriorated.

We western Mahomets think ourselves the rulers of the earth, but there are many Greeks and Indians whose custom is better.

16. unius, *pro* huius, C, D. Si, *pro* sicut, C, D. 18. occiderunt, C, D. 24. occidui, C; occidium, B[1]; occidunt, D. 32. vel *post* fidem, *add.* B[1]. 34. fit, *pro* sit, B[1].

unum predicamentum quod fit mensura omnium aliorum, attendamus fideliter ad hoc predicamentum, quod hoc dicit dominus vel ex lege sua, ergo hoc est insolubiliter * obser- D. 78
vandum. Sed quia consuetudines in isto deficiunt, ideo sunt nichil aut modicum a fidelibus ponderande. Erubescat ergo maniacus occiduus in ista argucia: talis consuetudo in nostra contracta sine approbacione domini est confirmata, ergo est katholice observanda.

(iii) As to the Pope, if Peter could sin, much more can he.

Et per hoc patet responsio ad terciam arguciam factam de papa, supponendo ut fidem quod ipse peccare et errare poterit ut ceteri viatores. Sic enim Christus ordinavit Petrum sic peccasse ante missionem spiritus sancti et post illam. Et credo quod nullus pro verecundia audebit dicere quod Petrus post tam sanctam vitam fuit magis peccabilis quam est papa. Si ergo genus cleri usque in adventum antichristi in deterius retrocedit, evidens est multis, quod sit recens et plenissimus antichristus. Quis ergo timeret istam arguciam: Ipse sine racione vel fundacione scripture sic asserit vel excommunicat, ergo est sue sentencie a cunctis fidelibus insistendum: cum sit argumentum topicum in quo racionabiliter contrarium concluditur?

He is neither the head of the universal church, nor Peter's vicar, nor Christ's.

Fideles ergo sibi propinquiores magis percipiunt istam sentenciam, et patet quod falsum assumitur, quod papa sit capud universalis ecclesie * vel Petri vicarius vel vicarius Jesu C. 27
Christi, sed inter omnes mortales ab illis maxime elongatur. Ideo in isto, sicud in aliis argumentis prioribus, adversarius vel falsum assumit, vel in sequela deficit, vel silenter innuit nostram sentenciam esse veram. Quia aut, ut Averrois asserit, veritas testatur multipliciter sibi ipsi, et secundum fideles doctores de quanto veritas plus teritur, de tanto fidelibus plus redolescit.

Third argument—

The clergy, instead of

Tercio principaliter arguunt adversarii legis dei, videntes quod auctoritatis legis dei * expertes, per racionem sophisti- D. 79
cam palliatam: Manifestum est, inquiunt, quod ista sentencia est contraria racioni, quia innuit, quod clerici, qui de lege

1. sit, *pro* fit, B[1]. 5. vel, *pro* aut, C, D. 31. ludentes, *pro* videntes, C, D. 32. sunt expertes, C, D. 34. cont. est, *ord. inv.* C, D.

dei sunt ad contemplacionem et oracionem pro vivis et mortuis deputati, ad mendicacionem vel aliam vitam imperfectam sunt necessitati. Sed quis dubitat quin ista sentencia tantum contra racionem et honorem domini rempublicam perturbaret, quia numerum suppreme partis ecclesie diminuit et miliciam que plus insolencie attendit, contra legem domini accendit. Sed quis dubitat quin ista sentencia foret contraria racioni? Hic dictum est sepius, quod deo teste nisi evidencia scripture, quantum concipimus, moveret directe pro illa sentencia, nunquam laboraremus incurrendo tantam indignacionem a multis et maioribus tam intente. Nam quantum concipimus in toto corpore scripture illa secta quadruplex, que tantum dominatur in seculari dominio, non fundatur nec vita nec regula quam tantum magnificant; que si docta fuerit, vel nostra sentencia racioni contraria vel
162 b. scripture, parati sumus secundum quod exigit racio ipsam humiliter revocare. Dementes quidem essemus et plene demoniaci si [dum] tantum fatigati in carne laboremus in illa sentencia, non crederemus ipsam esse catholicam ac meritoriam toti militanti ecclesie ac vitulaminibus in ipsa crescentibus, que ewangelium vocat zyzania, prodesse. Sepe autem diximus, quod non sufficiunt omnes istam sentenciam concipere vel arguere contra illam, cum tantum ad hoc sit racio ydonea vel scriptura. Ideo tres maneries hominum quantum ad artem suam attinet sunt ydonei in materia ista arguere, primo decretiste qui pure legibus papalibus innituntur, quia quid in materia ista dixerunt non valet sed est contempnen-
80 a. dum, * constat enim de quanto racioni consonat vel scripture. Secunda maneries hominum loquencium in ista materia sunt legiste, quia lex imperialis a fidelibus non accipitur in
28 a. ista materia nisi de * quanto consonat racioni. Tercia maneries hominum subtiliorum loquencium in ista materia sunt iuriste regnorum, qui licet sepius prepolleant racione non valet tamen ipsorum loquela in ista materia, nisi de quanto

prayer and contemplation, must take to begging.

Their number would be less, and that of the knighthood (more given to insolence) increase.

Answer—I would not expose myself to so much anger did not the evidence of scripture impel me, and did I not believe my doctrine to be profitable to the church and even to the reprobate.

It can only be proved or disproved by reason or scripture.

And by these the doctrines of canon, civil, and common lawyers, must be tested.

5. diminuit, D; diminuunt, C; diminuent, B[1]. 7. accendit, D. adaugeret, B[1]. 12. percipimus, C. 18. ista, C, D. 25. [non sunt?].

sagittent racione que consona est scripture. Et quicunque vivax sagittam talem proiecerit, ipsa est cum humilitate et reverencia admittenda, quia, ut sepe protestatum est, quicunque, eciam dyabolus, allegaverit fideliter fidem scripture pro sua sentencia, acceptarem illam humiliter pro auctoritate. Et quantum ad racionem factam, dictum est superius, ut a

Scripture contains in itself all knowledge (even of the sciences) helpful to salvation.

quibusdam didici, sicut scriptura sacra est verissima, sic est compendiosissima et utilissima et miro modo sicut includit in se sciencias trivias et sermocinales, scilicet gramaticam, logicam, et rhetoricam, sic includit sciencias quadrivias reales scilicet arismetricam, musicam, geometricam et astronomiam, de quanto illarum noticia expedit ad beatitudinem

Its rule as to the way clergy are to live involves a rule as to their number, which their great revenues now make excessive.

adquirendam. Et sic mirabili compendiositate autor scripture, docens quomodo et de quibus clerici debent vivere, docet sufficienter in quo numero et qua proporcione debent ad residuum populi se habere. Si enim non haberent redditus, vel ad officium quod pertinet clero Christi, non forent in tanto numero et tam onerosi ecclesie ut sunt modo. Ideo peccatum ecclesie exigit ut dotent illos et ditent contra legem dominicam, ut tot discolis oneretur. Servet igitur duplex pars ecclesie legem Christi in cleri dotacione et erit in suo numero mensurato. Et patet quod adversarius legis dei defecit in ista tercia racione, quia sicud clerus proporcione debita sincere sequens Christum prodesset ecclesie,

No number of mock priests can profit the church.

sic vocatus clerus condicionis opposite, quantumcunque monstruosus fuerit, viatoribus foret * contrarius, quia de illis D. 80 verificaretur dictum sapientis; *stultorum infinitus est numerus*. Eccl. Et hoc metricum de bello clavo: 'Tersites numerum 'auxit, non vires auxit Achivis.' Intendant ergo clerici aliis artibus mechanicis, qui volunt hanc servare regulam Jesu Christi, sicut possunt licite secundum legem domini. Et hoc evidencius audeo affirmare, quod foret eis utilius, vel aliter minus malum, quia de numero talium scandalisancium

4. humiliter, *om.* C, D. 8. sicut, C, D. sic, B[1]. 11. geometriam, C, D. 19. dotent, C; docent, B[1]; ditent, C; dicent, B[1]. 20. servit, 22. mensurata, C, D. 28. et, C, D; in, B[1]. tersites, C; sersites, B[1].

dicit Christus, quod *expedit ei ut suspendatur mola asinaria circa collum eius et demergatur in profundum maris;* nec video quomodo clerus foret proporcionalis pro residuo ecclesie militantis, nisi ad modum vivendi Christi per prudentes ecclesie sit astrictus. Et hinc Christus parabolice 3¹. 162 c. docet * suos milites, ut in diebus novissimis compellant intrare. Teneamus ergo legem domini et ipse cum hoc non potest eis defficere, quin doceat viam ad patriam, proporcionem [et] numerum parcium ecclesie et quidquid aliud est necessarium ad salutem. Et patet quod simulata contem- . 28 b. placio et indigna oracio officeret populo Christi. Videamus ergo si clerus qui vivit tam seculariter sit contemplacioni et oracioni deditus, vel servicio mamonis et alterius dyaboli ad alia crimina populum incitantis. Et hoc nedum se extendit ad clericos seculares sed ad nostros religiosos, tam possessionatos quam exproprietarios, cum omnibus aliis deest fundacio in ingressu pariter et progressu. Et patet, cum lex dei sit inculpabilis, quod eius observacio numerum cleri in debita proporcione constitueret, et brachium militare ex dei gracia in predicacione fideli paucorum sacerdotum in vita recta instrueret, et multas militum insolencias et tyrannides [nunc] regnantes destrueret, quia mirabile quod corpus ecclesie, evacuatis istis spongiositatibus ipsum infirmantibus, pristinam sanitatem non reciperet. Quotlibet enim membrum). 80 c. istius * ecclesie foret tunc validius ad reliquum adiuvandum. Videamus ergo quomodo * in tempore Christi ex ordinacione sua tacita milicia est adducta, cum nec fuit milicie nec vulgaribus onerosus, sed utramque illarum parcium secundum racionis exigenciam roboravit, cum Cesari dedit dydragma et vulgaribus graciam multiformem. Domum autem aut redditus non lego Christum pro se aut suis discipulis habuisse, sed natus fuit pauper in diversorio et in orto extra Ierusalem mortuus et sepultus a militibus, tamen voluit gloriose sepeliri.

Disendowment is the only means of duly limiting the number of the clergy.

Observance of Christ's law would adjust the numbers of the clergy and reform the knighthood,

to which and to the people Christ in His life showed Himself favourable, since He gave tribute to Cæsar and many blessings to the people.

8. quin, C, D; quando, B¹. 15. possessionarios, C. 21. non, *pro* [nunc], B¹, C, D. 27. fuit, *pro* facit, C. 34. gl. vol., *ord. inv.* C, D.

Other false arguments—(i) the priests held the cities of refuge and pasture for their cattle. (ii) the Maccabean priests were more splendid than kings.

Alie vero sunt raciones stultorum que militant contra caput proprium, ut in penthateuco legitur quod sacerdotes habuerunt civitates refugii et pascua pro suis bestiis nutriendis, quomodo ergo non haberent in lege gracie ampliora? Et idem confirmatur de sacerdotibus Machabeis qui in tempore suo fuerant plus incliti et plus regibus generosi. Ad istud dictum est diffuse alibi quod sacerdotes habuerunt pro tempore legis veteris possessiones moderatas, ut competebat suo statui. Quia absit fideli credere, quod deus ordinasset tantum

Answer—(i) the priests had charge of the cities of refuge, but not as lords.

numerum Levitarum pro occidendis bestiis et figuraliter ymolandis, nisi daret eis necessaria ad hoc opus. De quatuor autem civitatibus refugii non lego quod fuerunt seculares domini aut quod redditus de fugitivis receperant, licet ille civitates fuerant illis ad ministerialem custodiam

Priests have not the old sacrifices to perform, hence do not need so large a provision.

deputate. Et, cum idem sit deus nunc qui tunc, patet quod [si] iam foret necessarium redire ad ymolacionem figuralem huius modi bestiarum, deus ordinaret illis necessaria ad hoc opus. Sed Christus, qui est agnus dei, finiens has * figuras, D. 80 resurgens a mortuis iam non moritur, ideo racio fideles * necessitat quod cessent media necessaria ad hoc opus. C. 29 Fundent sacerdotes nostri, si poterint, quod debent modo intendere labori tali inportabili figurali, et tunc possunt de

(ii) As to the Maccabeans, when the kingdom was destroyed the priests degenerated from pride till at last they killed Christ, as the pope and his satellites are threatening to kill earthly kings.

lege domini ad hoc opus necessaria vendicare. Et * quan- B[1]. 16 tum ad Machabeos proporcionabiliter creditur, quod extincta regalia, secundum Ieremie vaticinium, sacerdotes illi a lege domini ex superbia declinarunt, et sic crevit eorum malicia quousque occiderant Christum. Et utinam papa cum satelitibus non faciat proporcionabile regibus terre; modo fertur enim quod subpeditavit Cesarem, et minatur multa media per que destrueret alios reges terre, ac si intenderet suscitare falsam promissionem dyaboli, quam promisit Christo se dare omnia regna mundi, si cadens ipsum adoraverit. Sed deus conservet secundum regulam ordinacionis sue ecclesie militanti hec pauca pro Christo dixerim, paratus (si oporteat) revocare facta, racione istud non esse

27. occiderunt, C. 31. qua, *pro* quam, D.

Four further objections—(i) With the glebe would go the right of patronage, and so the secular power would lose.

katholicum declarante. Sed communiter ad istud obiectum quadruplicem sunt quatuor responsiones ficte a patre mendacii. Prima fingit, quod si hunc dimittis, non eris amicus Cesaris, quia tanta connexio est inter glebam et ius patronatus, quia ipsa perdita periit ius patronatus. Et per idem quocunque redditu in manum mortuam illud auferens perderet totum suum dominium. Sed ista signa falsa non exterrerent fideles a practica legis dei. Scimus quidem, quod ius est res spiritualis independens a terra, in tantum ergo quomodocunque illa terra destructa fuerit vel consumpta ius
81 a. stabit penitus inconcussum. Ideo sicud * ius papale propter talem contricionem non leditur, sic nec ius domini secularis. Caveat tamen ne expetat de illo patronatu lucrum temporale cum mixto titulo symonie, quia tale ius foret sibi in scandalum.

Answer—right is a thing spiritual and cannot be affected by what may happen to a piece of land.

Only, patronage must not be used simoniacally.

(ii) The Old Law is not binding—This is refuted by the existence of the Decalogue and of Tithes, and by Christ's teaching.

Secunda responsio fingit quod quecunque allegata de lege veteri non concludunt, cum maior pars eorum et specialiter iam cessavit. Sed noscat istam responsionem, quomodo decalogus et lex de decimis fundatur in veteri testamento. Et Christus, summus legislator et optimus interpres eius possibilis, interpretatus est stricte, quod sacerdotes sui careant tali dominio.

(iii) The rule of poverty only extended to Judea—Then the Apostles who taught out of Judea were negligent in not founding the other system.

Tercia responsio fingit, quod deus intenderat ecclesiam suam tantum carere tali dominio in Iudea quia cognovit quod gens illa fuit indurati cordis. Sed hec falsa ficcio imponit ceteris apostolis delictum notabile ex negligencia qui morati fuerant extra ipsam.

(iv) Christ fulfilled the law of poverty, but only for His life—Christ's law is not thus limited by time and space.

Quarta responsio fingit, quod deus voluit legem strictam pauperiem, sed ipso mortuo, sepulcrum suum, ut propheta cecinit, fuit gloriosum. Sed constat quod lex Christi non sic constringitur loco vel
29 b. tempore, cum manebit * perpetuo in bonis, per idem enim non possit fingere quod nulla lex dei vel hominum de observanciis humanis haberet notabilem periodum temporalem, ideo quod quatuor iste ficticie, [cum] carent racionis evidencia vel scripture, sunt cum suis similibus propter periculum

1. correspondenter, *pro* communiter, D. 2. quadruplex, C, D. 21. intendat, D. 22. tota, *pro* tantum, C; totam, D. 25. quod, *pro* qui, D. 30. antichristus, *add. ante* fingere, C, D.

heresis contempnende. Interpretacio enim falsa scripture est manifeste heretica. Hec pauca dixerim sub quodam epilogo, ut facilius a populo videantur et veritates eorum ut falsitates facilius cognoscantur.

Finis dyalogi completur ut deus glorificetur, etc.

5. *Verba* Finis . . . etc., *om.* D; Et sic est finis dyalogi Supplementi, etc. C.

BIBLE QUOTATIONS.

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THE END.

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